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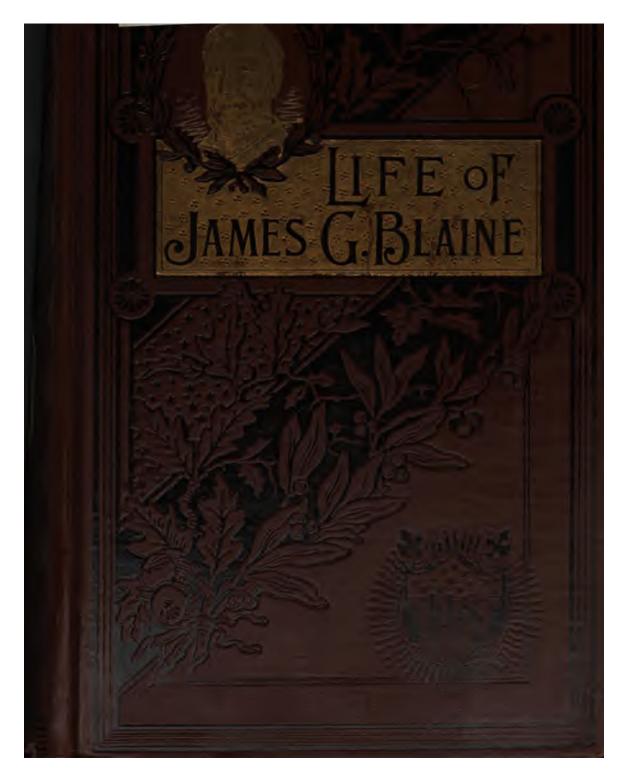
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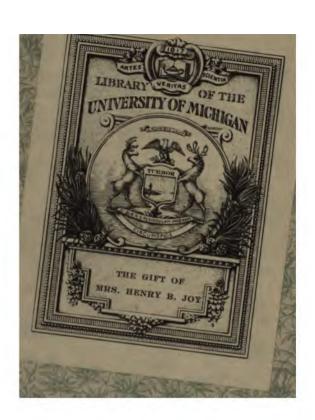
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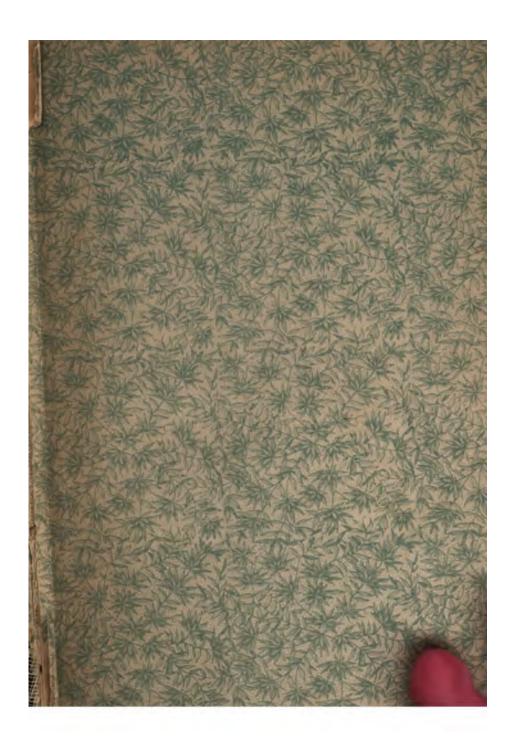
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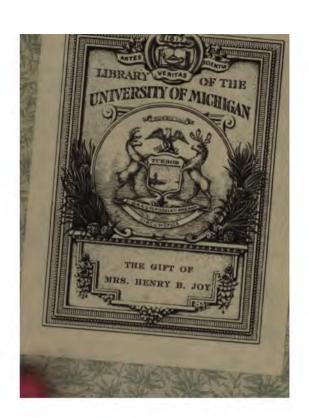
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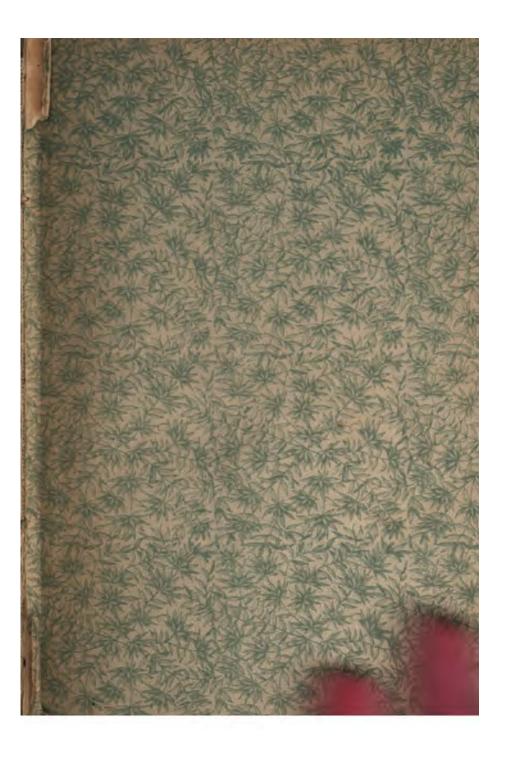
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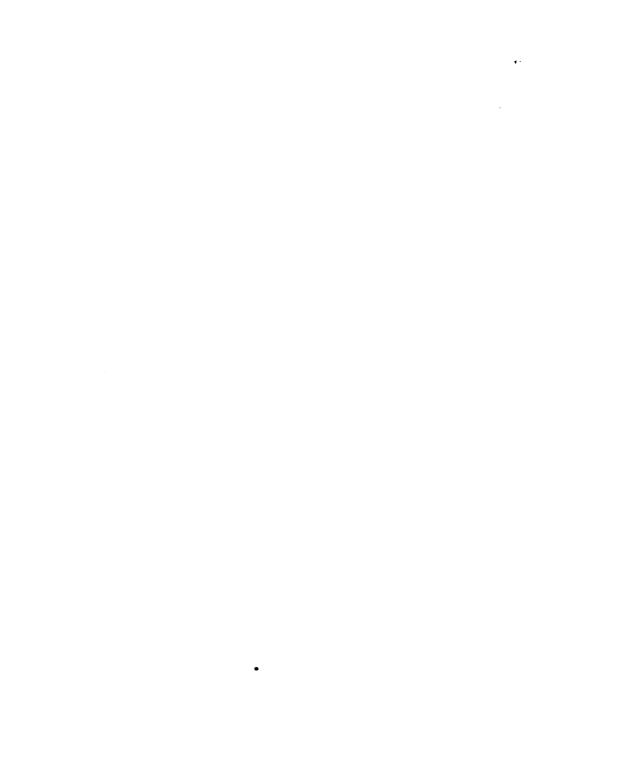




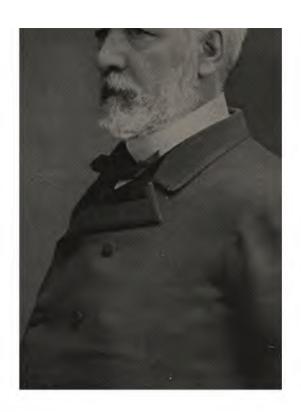












LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

OF

1856 -141

Hon. James G. Blaine,

THE ILLUSTRIOUS AMERICAN ORATOR, DIPLOMAT AND STATESMAN.

JAMES P. BOVD, A. M.,

Author of "Life of General U. S. Grant," "Life of General William T. Sherman," "Life of General Philip H. Sheridan," etc.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

By HON. JOHN RUSSELL YOUNG,

President of the Union League, Philadelphia; Author of "General Grant's Tour Around the World."

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RAL SCENE AT THE CEMETERY

INTRODUCTION

By HON. JOHN RUSSELL YOUNG.

HE death of Mr. Blaine is not merely the loss of a great man—the going out of a radiant light—but the close of a political era. More than any leader since Lincoln he was the embodied force of the Republican party. Like Grattan, he could have said that he stood by its cradle, for he had been a member of the convention which nominated John C. Fremont. If present signs hold, it might be also said that he stood by its grave.

In the identification of Mr. Blaine with the Republican party we find the fulfilment of his life, and we may estimate the real measure of the man. The leader who governs the details of a political organization surrenders a large part of the fruits of a genius which otherwise might win a larger and more useful place. Mr. Blaine was a character so individual in temperament and so highly gifted—he had so many phases of mental activity and power—that, if he had kept out of the consuming atmosphere of public affairs, he would have now a more definite and undoubtedly a more enduring fame. To him might be applied the criticism of Goldsmith upon Burke, that he gave up to party what was meant for mankind. Any success seemed possible to that brilliant, penetrating, fascinating intellect. In literature, the higher ranges of eloquence, scientific analysis and re-

intrepidity, have done with some of these now occupy human thought and are upon to velopment! When we consider this aspect his mental possibilities, and what the states gives himself without reserve to political wo derstand not alone how much we gained in I much we lost in the law of that destiny whice eader of party rather than a leader of though

derstand not alone how much we gained in I nuch we lost in the law of that destiny whice eader of party rather than a leader of though Mr. Blaine confirmed this view when he om politics long enough to show in his voluces what he might have done in history. ad that work without feeling how literature en enriched had Mr. Blaine written the hition in the true spirit of the historian. He public. He knew its annals as they were known of our time. He looked into the faces iers. He understood the motives of their a the candor, the instinct, the inspiration of the



BLAINE'S WASHINGTON HOUSE.



younger members of the House. Around him were those whose service had gone back to the earlier days-who had been old Whigs before the Republican party was bornwho had sat in Congress with Lincoln. They had resented the election of the young Colfax to the Vice-Presidency, and now there was the elevation of a younger in the person of Blaine as Speaker. It was the quarrel of the elders in the British Parliament against Pitt, and in the American Congress against Hamilton. It was deep and widespread. But Blaine won. With his own inherent, exquisite tact he used his victory to conciliate those upon whose skirts he had trodden, or whom he had been compelled to put aside. The old head upon young shoulders was cheerfully accepted by the elders themselves, and he had no firmer followers in time than leaders like Hamlin of Maine, who were in the Senate while he was trooping with his school-fellows over the playground.

The attitude of Mr. Blaine when he became Speaker was a governing factor in his career. He had been in accord with the Republican party. He was its conspicuous leader, even in a group of leaders which embraced Garfield and Allison, Roscoe Conkling, and Morton, of Indiana. He was even an extreme Republican. He had taken part in the impeachment experiment against President Johnson, although in later years, as did General Grant, he regretted this impetuosity, or that he had permitted reasons of political necessity to justify such a proceeding. If he had not accepted the first nomination of Grant with enthusiasm, it was because that nomination was not welcome to Republican leaders. However, he had supported it with elo-

swept entire commonwealths. condoned deeds of violence against polit The fervid volume of Mr. Tourgee, in which his forlorn experiences as a Northern soldier s his home in the South, may be accepted as

of this unwholesome time. Grant would he disorder by force. Blaine looked upon it as bing of the war-rebellion dying out in pain; be treated with infinite patience, forbearance feared that military interference, such as the templated, would entail evils greater than those sought to remedy. He was a man of peace statesman. He had lived under the sword-an sinister shadow even in the hands of Grant.

History has not passed judgment as to whet Blaine was in error in regard to this proposed That we cannot know until the secret arch government, upon which the President took

to debar him from the Presidency. Grant in his reserved, uncomplaining way, accepted the defeat in silence. But he never forgot it, and Blaine remained no longer in his confidence.

If Grant, like Andrew Jackson, had been turbulent in his resentments, he might have driven Blaine out of the party, There was nothing, however, in the apparent attitude of the administration to disturb the relations of Blaine with the President. Had he divined dormant antagonisms it would have been different. President Grant was serving his second term, He had declared that he would not be a candidate for reelection. His attitude towards the Republican aspirants for his seat was that of impartiality. Blaine and Conkling, Morton, Hayes and Jewell, were politically his friends, and each able emitted to the party confidence. His choice was Hamilton Fish, the Secretary of State; but own this preference he did not express in public. After Fish he would have preferred Coulding, but the New York Senator was young and could wait. He gave no sign. The various leaders went out to muster facir forces. The convention assembled, and after a bitter contest in which blaine was with difficulty defeated, it continued Covernor Mayor, of Ohio. When the convention was over, it was soon that the administration negatively-in allence, as it were-shad defeated Risine. It was the virtual close of his carour as a sandidate for the Bresidency. (His Deadership never after was the of the official party, that eather of a powerful remnant, which was more effective in defeating the amdifferent of those who plant po dayor in this eyes than he

of its radiance. tude of Jefferson to Washington, or, to This h analogy, that of Van Buren to Jackson. ever, a sentiment of impatience on the part leaders of the Republican party towards Secretary Chase voiced this impatience who military men should have military honorstitles, commands; that in material things, de dignities the Republic should shower them

hand. They should, however, have no par affairs. Their training was not conducive to st was rather antagonistic to it. Civil duties s those whose education was in civil life. Chase, like Blaine, was obscured by the s coming of Grant made Chase a Democrat. Bl. follow the example. He remained with the par n a position of obscuration. The best that h vas to interrupt the careers of Morton and Co. ass the crown to Hayes. If he had learned wit

ne wise Van Buren, he might have succeeded Gr

the Clay, won his humans at an early age. Unlike Clay, he was to lase a potent influence over affairs whom in the maturity of his powers. The climax of political usefulness came with the Garfield administration. Blaine was but a critic under Arthur and Cleveland; and when Hamison gave him the highest opportunities of action, he was broken in health, ill with the disease which in time was to be lately and incapable of efforts which would have justified his leadership and his fame.

From the close of the Speakership until the advent of Garfield, so far as governing affairs was concerned, Blaine was in
an attitude of reserve. He had no influence in the administration of Grant. He was so much of an alien towards Hayes
that he did not visit the White House. He retired from the
Arthur Cabinet. In the Senate he underwent what might be
called a period of gestation. Conkling, Edmunds, Carpenter,
and others learned in the law, never ceased to remind him of
his shortcomings in jurisprudence. Pride of profession, or
perhaps political rivalry, kept his colleagues in an attitude of
criticism. Beyond the Senate he was their master. Within
its walls they would not take him even as a peer. The Sena
ate was therefore an irritating atmosphere to his exquisite
sensitive genius. When we recall what was expected of him
in the Senate, history must record that he made no sign.

And yet, all this time, holding an attitude either of silence or antagonism to the ruling political powers, Democratic as well as Republican, Blaine governed his wing of the party with absolute sway. It was even more than the autocracy of Clay. There was no policy too wayward, no experiment too daring for the devotion of his followers. He gave no confidences.

insolence. But it conception of the genius of politics. It w command, not discuss problems or answer Accepting a leadership so strenuous and stern, the Republican party never failed in aside Grant, who like Taylor and Jackson itary success an exception to political laws, twenty years had no rival. In this, we have s was phenomenal. He had, to be sure, cons onists; rivals who by political agencies were down and keep him from the supreme honor; years there was no voice in Republican counc

with the potency of Blaine. There were local le some, if not all, surpassing him in certain qualiti mastery. There was Conkling, with an eloq recalled that of Webster. There was Morte magnificence of his war record, and singular eader. Bristow, Jewell, Sherman, Allison, W.

Il had their following. At best they re-

seas and away from desolating winds, and sailed with the time. This, however, was when he was young in affairs. When he came to know the compromises and responsibilities of politics, when he felt his power, he was his own master, and swaped the party towards what he deemed a path of wisdom and progress.

No leader was ever so swift to hear and answer. This was shown in an entraordinary degree when Mr. Cleveland as President wrote his famous message upon the tanif. The message came in itself as a departure from executive custom. Instead of addressing Congress upon the general condition of the government, affairs at home and abroad. and the requirements of the great departments of State, Mr. Cleveland made an argument upon the revenues. It was an able, temperate, beguiling document. It was a new departure in finance. It gave the party in power an issue which demanded instant response if the party in opposition were not to be carried away by it. Blaine was in Paris when the message reached Congress. He knew only the synopsis in the foreign press. But he saw enough to seize the salient as well as the weak points of the President's argument. At once there came answer by cable in the form of an interview with Blaine-a brilliant, exhaustive, daring reply to Mr. Cleveland. It was an event in political history, and showed the genius of instant command. Before the smoke of the Cleveland cannon had died out the banner of the plumed knight was in the advance, and the Republicans felt the joy of immediate and resolute leadership.

The aggressive temperament of Blaine, like that of Clay, awakened among the conservative elements a feeling of

master of finesse the national protest against the Anglican n ington and Hamilton. Quincy Adams was by political tactics and not by the voice of t Buren was a legatee of Jackson. Lincoln because he was not Seward, and Garfield as the stupendous personality of Grant. This tates against political genius in executive a

heavily upon Blaine. Conscious of consumr statesmanship; imbued with an intense, un patriotism; knowing that his hold upon the ple was stronger than that of any statesman in fanatical in his Republicanism; his mind teen perial dreams of national greatness; swayed b affectionate, imaginative temperament; with th I may add, the audacity-of genius, what mig been the destiny of the nation under his guid

this was not to be.

The death of Mr. Blaine will be

lina to New York, and members from New York are fighting upon the Calhoun nullification lines of half a century
ago. Finance has become a question of economy and bookkeeping. We cannot raise the credit of the nation to a
higher point. The problem is, not to lower it. The tariff
is considered no longer as a principle, but as a policy. The
relations of reciprocity with the American Republics are as
well accepted as the Monroe Doctrine; and with foreign
nations there is no reason why the doctrine of arbitration
may not be the harbinger of peace.

With all these distinctive triumphs the name of Mr. Blaine is associated, and upon their acceptance and fruition his fame will rest. From that point of view it might be felt as if, under the providence of God, his work was done. War problems are dead, and we have only the pensions as a consequence of the war. The graver problems, then, that come under the subtle and ingenious leadership of Mr. Henry George, and which, as recent political events indicate, will press upon the electorate, mean a new era with which the genius of Mr. Blaine would have had no relation. There was nothing speculative in his political philosophy, and we are on the eve of audacity and speculation. He had no hospitality for dreams. We look in vain for any sympathy with the sentimental or radical elements of politics, for the splendid aspirations of Wendell Phillips or the stately dogmatism of Charles Sumner. He saw politics as a practical man. It was a business as much as a railway or a canal; the business of governing races; the maintenance of society; the preservation and the development of the State. With his mind steadily upon the

Americans, born in and about the early the the illustrious men who had fought and wo war, and deal with the problems of record country, rich at times in genius and civic conso blessed as in that stern period. Conkling, Harrison, Donald Cameron, Garfield, Edn Jewell, were among the number, and their the country in legislative and executive acrare company to lead, and yet Mr. Blaine una leader. There can be but one explanation It was that indefinable, impalpable faculty, so the government of men, what, in the absert

comprehensive word, may be called "genius." hard to describe this ascendency. The barren netic "has gone into general circulation as an meaning. But the student of Mr. Blaine's car better explanation. He will see rare mental gomprehensive intellect, a memory like steel, a ation which gave a glow to what he said and ness, and a deep insight into human nature.

experiments from numbs, ambition or anges, and to varying consequences generally furile, and in the end to be monotoid. As in the immuse tichate with Senator Hill, of Georgia, and the answer to President Georgians's message on the moil, Mr. Blaine distined the word to be said, and when soid, instant, swift and penetrating, it became the watchwood of his party, a battle cry, as was seen when the response to Georgiand led the forces of Harrison to victory.

To these gifts we add especially the rightness faculty of industry. Mr. Blaine knew the duty as well as the blessing of work; that genius without application was movely the lightning flash wasted upon summer clouds. The amount of his labor, its variety and fulness, could only come from an intense busy life. As editor, legislator, secretary, even when the cruel hand of insidious fate began to close upon him, he was never idle. It was an activity that disease could not arrest, and which yielded alone to death. This we know and pathetically realize, now that we have learned that the end came from a slow, lingering, enervating disease, The heart-rending picture of Grant writing his memoirs speechless and writhing is almost equalled by the resolute Blaine-holding his party leadership, swaying the diplomacy of the nation, and coming within the circle of a Presidential nomination, while disease in its most dreaded form was wasting him away. This courage, however, was the dominating quality in his career, and will explain how his will came to be a law with the multitude and away a nation's destiny.

We take our leave of Blaine in pride and gratitude. He leaves an example to young men which will be an incentive

and courage. A shining figure—for twent, minate the horizon of American political life that has not been seen since Henry Clay. Clay in this, that he dealt with a larger counturbulent conditions of public policy, and unexampled in bitterness. He faced and four When the

Clay in this, that he dealt with a larger counturbulent conditions of public policy, and unexampled in bitterness. He faced and foug When the end came there was no American feel that one of the greatest had gone; and the sorrow, and as with a sense of irreparable given to the eternities long before his time much to do for his people, and whom we afford to lose.

John Russer

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICE

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JAMES G. BLAINE.

CHAPTER L

FARRIET EISTORY AND MINTS.

Is resting one's nativity, the astrologer used colestial signs. The position of the heavens, the place of the saw, planets and stars, the combinations of occult inflormers at the time of a mortal birth, were supposed to offeet character and life, and after the astrologer cast his horomorph he foretold, with a confidence which became his art, the kind of a man the swaddling clothes contained and the fate in store for him.

While the signs of the Zodiac and other celestial phenomena are not now supposed to influence character, we still consult nature's signs, if not to foretell, at least to account for human characteristics. Every attadent of anthropology admits that a Scotchman would be impossible in the Netherlands, or a Switzer in the flats of Italy, Family, too, or in other words, lineage, is deemed a momentous factor in shaping characteristics. One student says that in order to evolve the ideal man you must begin four hundred years before his birth. Another says if the

CHRY

one of the South-western Counties of the son West Virginia, and having for its eastern rugged lines of the Monongahela River. It varied and beautiful, embracing high hills valleys, and sparkling streams. Some of its proportions of mountains. Krepps Knob, wh the valley and river at West Brownsville, extended and variegated landscape, whose rich agricultural areas, slopes of stalwart meandering streams, and bluffy ridges whi rushing waters. Amid the plats of farm land,

the homes of husbandmen, are cosy hamlet and there populous towns whose glittering coofs suggest their ambition to rank as cities. We ween the strong lines of hills which mark the Monongahela are sequestered many busy of trownsville and Bridgeport, each the rival of the manufacturing or commercial mart. Off to the est, where the vista of hill, valley, wood, as a most stretches, begins to lose itself in the hore eseen the checkered outlines of West Virginia.

closures or wander contentedly on the grassy hill sides. They are of the best breeds, and the value of their products evince the care bestowed upon their selection and propagation.

On a narrow strip of valley between the Monongahela River and the foot hills of Krepp's Knob stands the unpretentious town of West Brownsville. It is irregularly built of brick and wood, and its topography is marred by ravines and, in later years, by railroad embankments. It has the air of business and thrift, and here and there are dwellings which tell of wealth and comfort. Their substantial build, antique architecture; and somewhat quaint surroundings, show that prosperous and cultivated families have found a home therein for several generations. On the opposite side of the river, in Fayette County, are the towns of East Brownsville and Bridgeport, two towns in one, and the real business centre of the valley, at this point. A bridge connects them with West Brownsville, so that there is a blending of populations and business, not to say a homogeniety of interests, which make practically an unincorporated city out of the three towns.

East Brownsville, or Brownsville proper, is even more medieval in appearance than its namesake on the west side of the river. Indeed, a visitor can hardly escape the impression that he is in some European town, whose front is the Rhine-like river, whose streets lead steeply up to castles on the overlooking heights, whose small old-fashioned houses, close upon the side walks, suggest the architecture of Scotland or Ireland. The cobble stone pavements, irregularly flagged sidewalks, medieval churches, and bluffs crowned with a few castellated mansions, complete the impression that here, as hardly elsewhere in the State, have been preserved the architectural ideals of those who cherished fond memories of their fatherlands

vously organized and energetic present.

Washington County, and for that matter ern Pennsylvania as comprised in the Alleg gahela and Ohio river sections, became histo a very early period. It was the scene of forays and pitched battles at a time when French, with their respective Indian allies, ing for this gateway to the Mississippi va same time pioneers from the East were forci

into the disputed sections, as settlers, trade turers. Schooled to hardship, bold in proje border warfare, these became the worthy who afterwards shared with Washington th fatigues of the American Revolution.

White men penetrated to the Monongahela 1670, and shortly after La Salle made his cele of observation in the interest of the French which ascertained the geographic and strates nce of the "Forks of the Ohio." But it w 753 that France deemed it necessary to send rotect her title against the aggressions of the he French marched from I

troops and forces in the Colony of Virginia:—I, reposing especial trust and confidence in the ability, conduct and fidelity of you, the said George Washington, have appointed you my express messenger; and you are hereby authorized and empowered to proceed hence, with all convenient and possible despatch, to the part or place on the Ohio where the French have lately erected a fort, or forts, or where the commandant of the French forces resides, in order to deliver my letter and message to him; and after waiting, not exceeding one week for an answer, you are to take your leave and return immediately back.

"To this commission I have set my hand and caused the great seal of this dominion to be affixed at the city of Williamsburg, the seat of my government, this 30th day of October, in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of his majesty, George the Second, King of Great Britain &c., A. D., 1753.

ROBERT DINWIDDLE.

The youthful Washington sped on his perilous journey, through deep forests, along Indian trails, and down the roaring stretches of the Monongahela. In a very short while he was to contribute to the making of a history which embraced Western Pennsylvania, and was written in blood. The campaigns of Braddock against the French were not models of generalship. They resulted in disasters, the chief of which was the bloody "Braddock's Field," now a famous pic-nic resort, where the visitor loves to recall the genius of the young Washington, to which the safety of the defeated and crest-fallen British regulars was due. These campaigns, and the Indian wars and massacres which attended or followed them, gave a glow to border history and became the source of countless traditions, which even the barrowess. ' ve to hear recounted. They introduce or adventure, the continto the new and coveted territo new and better, seemed to ville.

These men were true types of the courageous, adventure-loving, patriotic entire sympathy with the Revolution and tors to the cause of American Independent listed in the Colonial armies, and one dressed as Indians, marched the length joined Washington at Philadelphia. That taken advantage of by the unscrupulous pared the Indians for bloody raids and filled the Western Counties with fear and the undaunted character of the people that of a "fire in the rear" of actual settlem proven dangerous to the success of the pat While the events of the Revolution we taken the settlem of the rear in the rear in the Revolution we will be settlem to the success of the patrious while the events of the Revolution we taken the settlem to the rear in the rear in the Revolution we will be settlem to the success of the patrious distribution of the Revolution we will be settlem to the se

sturdy citizenship in the Western Counti they were at the same time contributing to ence of character which found outlet in re "Whiskey Tax" imposed by the Governm was deemed unjust, and every attempt to riot, arson, tar and feathers. her quota of volunteers, who swelled the army of General Harrison on the Lakes, and the garrisons at Baltimore and Washington. Their return enriched the history and traditions of the County, and stimulated the patriotism of the people. The County contributed a company for the defence of Texas in 1836, and sent many volunteers to the Mexican war in 1846. Thus inspired by a history and tradition which bristle with adventure, battles and patriotic efforts, the generations of Washington County as they passed away left to their successors a glorious example, and that high standard of patriotism which fitted them for the mighty struggle of 1861, and helped them to furnish to the nation so many evidences of devotion to country and to free institutions.

Among the adherents of the Scottish Prince Charlie, at the fatal battle of Culloden, was a soldier named Blaine. The name is that of a Highlander, whose clan may have had a seat near Loch Lomond. This indication of an ancient ancestry and a Scottish origin may gratify the turious, but it can searcely add to the lustre of the man who has so distinguished the name in American annals. We know the drift of Scottish families, and even clans, to the north of Ireland, and their uses for purposes of conquest as well as their tenacious grasp of the soil. We know also of those Scotch-Irish qualities which became desirable in America, especially where they supplemented the efforts of the peace-loving Quakers. Both Quaker and German found the natural pioneers of North Ireland a splendid bulwark against Indian encroachment, and excellent levelers of primeval forest. They proved to be frontier men for the throng of non-combatants who made haste to profit by their energy and prowess. The broad expanse of soil, the opportunity for adventure, the continuous invitation to something new and better, seemed to

syrvania, was one James Blaine. the Cumberland Valley, near the town of Car as 1722-3, a member of the first Presbyterian of the Susquehanna, and a participant in th the old stone structure which still stands square in Carlisle. It was here that his se Blaine, was born in the year 1740. Ephraim Blaine was destined to lift the uto historic prominence, by his energetic ar

areer as a soldier in the Revolutionary war. irst to join the patriot forces, he contributed nd fortune to the cause of independence. ears his place was in the ranks, where, as tracted the attention of Washington, who licited his promotion to the position of Commi al of Purchases. This promotion came at irty-eight, and that it was deserved was quichis courage, ability and self-sacrificial spirit. nself and the influence he exercised with fr s able at various times, when the Continental s depleted, to advance large sums of money fo se of arms, food and clothing, and during the ter at Valley Forge, Washington attributed th and his staff were on their way to suppress the Whiskey Rebellion they became the guests of Colonel Blaine, and while there learned of the dispersion of the insurgents. It is inferable from Colonel Blaine's liberality that he was possessed of considerable wealth, which seems to have been fortunately augmented by that of his wife, who was of the family of Galbraiths. He died at Carlisle in 1804, after serving a term as Sheriff of Cumberland County.

The domestic life of Col. Blaine was as interesting as his public career was patriotic. On the death of his first wife, he remained a widower for five years. Near his estate of "Middlesex" resided Judge Duncan, a man of social rank and high spirit. On account of a personal difficulty between the Judge and a lawyer of the Cumberland County Bar by the name of Lamberton, a challenge to fight a duel passed. The Judge chose James Blaine, Col. Blaine's son, as his second. The issue of the duel was the death of Judge Duncan by a rifle ball in the forehead. In due time Col. Blaine married Judge Duncan's widow. She survived him many years, and died in 1850, at the age of ninety years, at her mansion on Walnut street, Philadelphia, where she had lived for a long time in affluence and amid social distinction. The descendants and connections of Col. Blaine are numerous in Pennsylvania, and other parts of the Union. They number, among others, the Lyons, Russels, Ewings, Alexanders, Reeds, Walkers and Gillespies. The son of Col. Blaine's second wife, Dr. Stephen Duncan, became one of the wealthiest planters and most philanthropic man in the State of Mississippi.

His eldest son was James Blaine. He was given the benefit of an education at home and abroad and, having inherited ample means, he was diverted from the legal profession, for which he was designed by his parents, to

the life of a well to do prive After the death of his father, and in poincreased fortune, he was attracted to Wes vania, as a field for investment and trade. Brownsville as a likely site for his purposes removal there, made some important investm selected as a justice of the peace. He w. James Blaine, senior, and was a man of appearance, being broad shouldered and ful height. His manners were pleasing and he w

great favorite among old and young. He with a family of four sprightly sons, Ephrain Samuel and William, born to him while in

for the most part educated there, prior to

Besides the large tracts of land to which Ja enior, acquired titles in and near West Bro wned the celebrated tract in Sewickly Town heny County, which is now in the possess leonomite community. As he grew old and nce of closer care to his estates increased, laced in charge of his eldest son Ephriam L. I ecame a permanent resident of West Brow

family removal to the West in 1818.

318, and the manager

home education by travel in Europe, South America and the West Indies, and had brought to the West a fine physique and superior manners. For the time and place he was accounted rather aristocratic, and those censoriously inclined saw in him a man whose inclinations ran rather to pleasure than work. He entertained in a princely fashion and extended charity with lavish hand. From a strict dollar and cent point of view he was not a successful manager, and the vast estates under his control failed to realize as had been hoped for by his father and himself. In fact, they began to dwindle to such an extent as to cause their now owner to look about for some means of adding to an annual income.

But ere this happened, and while still a young man of twenty-four, tall and handsome, with eyes noted for their strength and brilliancy, fond of society, bearing a diploma from Washington College, flushed with pride and manly importance, he met the daughter of one of the leading families of Western Pennsylvania, Miss Maria Gillespie, and surrendered to her charms of mind and appearance. Her grandfather, Neal Gillespie, immigrated from the North of Ireland to Fayette County in 1771, where he at once assumed importance as a land holder and public spirited citizen. Though of Scotch-Irish origin, the family were ardent Catholics, and possessed of a character which developed strength under strain of circumstances. Neal Gillespie soon pushed his way westward of the Monongahela, and erected the first stone house beyond the stream, upon Indian Hill farm, in Washington County, Pa. This was in the year 1778. This house still stands, and in early times it was noted as the hospitable mansion of the Gillespie farm, where were wont to assemble the many handsome men and women of the section who loved the Gillespie name or were attracted by their hospitality. Memerandom of a Bargain mead between I William, oldest son, and Neal Gillespie, the a that we the above do bargain and sent to se Tract of land which we now poses and all the boundaries of said land at forty five Shilling tearm of Peaments the 15 of October next fower to be Paid in money or moneys worth for this P of Iron at teen pence Pr pound and one negro of two men, one hundred pounds more to be paid in Freasement, or Else to draw the trust for Remainder of the Purches money to be paid in first in the year 1786, the next in the year 1788, ear 15th, the above Marey Peters and william Pet meak the said Neal Gillespee a proper right for which we have set our hands and seals.

JOHN MCCORTNEY.

MAREY

JOHN NIXON.

VII LIAM I

This fine estate descended to Neal Gilles 800, and the rest of the Gillespie family scatte us parts of the country to become the progen triotic race of statesmen, scholars and

tiring Christian, sincere in conviction, yet not so wedded to creed as to refuse a lover of opposite belief, and somewhat given to the ways of the world.

The happy couple were married, presumably at the Gillespie mansion, as such would have been in accord with the custom of the days, and there they made their home for a time. Here were born their first son and daughter. But the husband soon determined to set up for himself and to live in a style more becoming to his tastes. As the Gillespie estate had become largely his own, partly through his wife and partly by purchase, he selected as his future home the house in which his wife's grandfather had formerly resided, and by means of improvements converted it into a convenient and ostentatious residence. Thither they moved in the year 1829, and the mansion was dedicated by an evening party. Here Ephraim indulged to his heart's content his taste for visitation and travel, and his love for a fine team and open-handed hospitality. He became noted for his dexterous horsemanship and his fine span of chestnut sorrels -Bolivar and Beaver-, for his fashionable apparel, oldfashioned dinners, and elegant evening parties. In all this there was no economy, and but for the fact that his wife proved to be the more prudent manager, their estates must have suffered sooner than they really did.

It was while they resided in their new two-storied mansion, on the banks of the Monongahela, that their second son, and third child, James Gillespie Blaine, was born, January 31st, 1830. The event was heralded as such events are in a country town. It contributed joy to parents. It augured nothing of that fame which the child would, in manhood, attain. A family had been augmented by one. The future would make that one a host, contributing alike to family honor, to personal dis-



CHAPTER II.

BOYHOOOD AND EDUCATION.

JAMES G. BLAINE'S boyhood was spent as that of other children, amid the influences of home, and subject to just those events which make up the history of early youth. Fortunately for him, his paternity contributed to good cheer, to freedom of action, to originality, to independence, while his maternity smoothed the harsher lines of character with the administrations of pious refinement. Home was for him a safeguard and assurance. Its restraints and encouragements were such as to balance, and the character formed therein might well prove to be natural and healthy. Fortunately also for him his environment was such as to conduce to fine physical growth. He could recreate at will on the paternal acres, and drink in life from the hill tops.

As his traits developed, he was found to be of sprightly, mischievous turn, given to physical motion and to boyhood pranks. Having access to the river, and a frequent witness of the boats that passed, he essayed a boat and navigable water of his own. He dammed up the stream that flowed down from Indian Hill and launched upon it a tiny bark of his own construction. But the neighboring boys repeatedly tore down his dam, and spoiled his navigation. He applied to the stalwart ferryman for help, and offered to bring his cows for an entire week if he would build him a dam out of stones so large that the mischievous boys could not move them. The ferryman

Lidulge his childish imagination. "There companion, as he pointed to the Virginia or end of the world, and I am going there so he grew in years and confidence, he delighte Maternal anxiety forbade him the use of a g was forced to depend upon axe and dog

capturing the rabbit by day and the coon by During Blaine's boyhood the public schsatisfactory institution, if it existed at all in His mother, being a woman of superior cultu to instruct her own children. For some tim hem in the school of her model home, but w lesist through increasing cares. An old sc. ers, Mrs. Matilda Dorsey, opened a subscrip

ear by and James was entered as a pupil. H ears old and, as his teacher says, a ruddy c ll of frolic and harmless mischief. Though as a leader among the boys. He learned th little effort, and had plenty of time to in d amuse himself at the expense of others nmer and blackberries were ripe. The

him to enter the patch, and tried to frighten him by telling him it was full of copperhead snakes. She utterly failed in her object, for the next day Jim came loaded for a fresh bombardment. It was a hot day and the teacher herself fell asleep. Jim took aim and landed a blackberry on the point of her nose. She awakened suddenly and irately. Instinct told her whence the missile had come and she summoned the culprit before her.

"Did you shoot that berry?" she demanded angrily.

No response came, but Jim's downcast features suddenly lighted up with a smile.

"Did you shoot that berry?" she again fiercely de-

"No'm," replied Jim; "I shot you."

Mrs. Dorsey would fain have laughed outright, but fearing a loss of dignity and influence in the school, she drew the offender across her lap and administered proper punishment with a book. She declared that Jim did not squirm under the blows and gave her no sort of satisfaction by opening a childish yell. The same good lady, continuing her reminisences, says the boys used to plague Jim by calling him "nosy," which was very naughty in them, though not inappropriate owing to the prominence of that organ. He got a sweet revenge though, for he was always at the head of his class, always knew his lessons, and delighted in hard tasks, especially in spelling.

While pranky and even boisterous in school, he was rather shy and reticent in society. The storekeeper once played a practical joke on him by wrapping up an article he had not asked for. He returned with it to the store, to be greeted with roars of laughter by the loungers. Shortly after, the storekeeper was measuring grain and keeping tally by laying a cob on the ledge for each bushel measured. Jim looked demurely on till the measuring

butcher. Blaine happened along and for crying. On learning her story, he stabutcher, and offered all he had on his perwatch presented to him by his uncle, to re The butcher remained unmoved, whereupon burst into tears, and for weeks talked free poor widow, and the misfortune he had tri relieve.

It is easy to see that a boy of the precedular Blaine would soon outgrow the opportunity ing which Brownsville afforded. A change to come, and it soon did come, but not of his During his early childhood, his father because in a strong bridge over the Monongahela as above his home. He regarded the project to enhance the value of his property, and subset to the stock. The bridge was finished in 1 and boat-yards were opened in West Browns increased in value. Ephraim Blaine was soon a rich and fortunate man. He indulged his tastes more largely than ever. But soon a sion set it. Property fell to ruinous prices.

for the office of Prothonotary and was elected. In order to fulfil the duties of the office Ephraim Blaine moved to Washington, the County seat, in the latter part of 1842 or early part of 1843. He had resolved to give his son James à collegiate education at the college there, and that he might prepare for it, he was sent to Lancaster, Ohio, where in the home of Hon. Thomas Ewing, then Secretary of the Treasury, he enjoyed along with Thomas Ewing, Junior, the tutorship of William Lyons, brother of Lord Lyons, and uncle of the then British Minister at Washington. The cultured family of Mr. Ewing, an uncle of Blaine, exerted an excellent influence on the young student, and under a tutorship of one chosen to care for an own child, he soon completed his preparatory course. In the fall of 1843 he was ready to enter college, and returned home for that purpose.

The institution which was to receive him was the Washington and Jefferson College. It had its origin, as the colleges of New England had, in the general respect for religion and learning, and the need of institutions which might be not only conservers of these things and centres for instruction in them, but sources of supply to the ministry. Before they had made a home for themselves the people of Western Pennsylvania made a home for those things of the spirit which were dearest to them. It is a rare devotion which inspires the building of churches and schools in advance of full provision for more material needs. It belongs only to the sturdiest class of men—men who have done much for the world; and is worth noting where we find it.

It was mainly with the purpose of providing a means for the nurture of a ministry at home that the Rev. John M'Millan, Rev. Joseph Smith, and Rev. Thomas Dodd established schools of their own at Chartiers, Buffalo, and

Carnahan, was afterward Presiden and one of his successors became the first p college which grew out of it, and which chartered by the State and named Jefferso thing of which Jefferson boasts, but it was tution of the higher learning west of the Al In the same county another college had the side of Jefferson, called Washington. sprung from an academy, and in that form years younger than the town of Washingto stood, having been chartered in 1787. The three ministers who in a remote way found stand first on the list of the incorporators of

Academy. In 1805 Rev. Matthew Brown be same time the first pastor of the Presbyteria Washington, and Principal of the Academy nim it met such success that in 1806 the State ave the trustees a college charter. It had so stablished when a union was proposed with eighbor Jefferson, but this wise move was complished until 1869. By the act which to colleges the alumni of both are accounted the new College of Washington and Jefferson

aine's college



the beginning and to did her a smooth or a feet of an

BLAINE'S BIRTHPLACE.

the lesser colleges; the close relation of pupil and teacher. The class with which young Blaine entered was of about the usual number—thirty-three.

One of his classmates, Alexander M. Gow, of Fontanelle, Iowa, writes of Mr. Blaine's youth, that while at College he was "a boy of pleasing manners and agreeable address, quite popular among the students and in society. He was a better scholar than student. Having very quick perceptions and a remarkable memory, he was able to catch and retain easily what came to others by hard work. In the literary society he was a politician, and it was there, I think, that he received a good deal of the training that made him what he is." The mother of his college room-mate remembers very well when her son brought him home to spend a vacation. She speaks of him as a "raw, angular fellow, with a big nose," and says that when she met him a year or two ago she was "astounded to find that he remembered every incident of those boyish days, and could tell her many things which she had forgotten. He remembered all the family, their relatives and the neighbors, and could talk of his visit as though it had been but yesterday."

H. H. M. Pusey, of Iowa, another of his classmates, and a member of Congress from Iowa, says:

"James Blaine, as I remember him, was a pretty well-built boy and a hard student. He had an impediment of his speech, however, which prevented him from joining in our debates and declamations, but he could distance all his classmates in the matter of studies, and his memory was remarkable. We had in the college a literary society, of which I was president about the time Blaine was sixteen years old. One day he came to me and said: 'B-b ill, I would like to be p-president of the literary. Can you

him, and at the meeting the next week I president, vice Pusey, term expired. As he committed the entire contents of Cu

and he proved the best president the li
the college ever had.

"I remember one day his father told hir
and go to the market to buy a turkey.
dollar, which was a good deal of money
Well, James brought home the bird and l

Well, James brought home the bird and I Dinah, the colored cook of the Blaine fami elder Blaine came down to breakfast Dina. 'Mars Blaine, dat dar turkey what Mars mawin' am de quarest turkey I's ever see Mars Blaine.'

"'Why, what's the matter with it, Dina enough?' replied the old gentleman. 'It surely; Jim paid a dollar for it.'
"'Oh yes, Mars Blaine, de turkey is big

"'Oh yes, Mars Blaine, de turkey is big am de funniest turkey dis yer nigger ever se "'Mars Blaine' went out to the kitchen t

'turkey' and found it to be a ten-year-old go
"He called Jim down and hauled him or
saying: 'Why. Jim

a boy to tell a turkey from a goose when its feathers are off."

Another who seems to have known him says:

"To the new scholars who entered in succeeding classes he was a hero—uniformly kind to them, ready to give assistance and advice, and eager to make pleasant their path in college life. His handsome person and neat attire; his ready sympathy and prompt assistance; his frank, generous nature, and his brave manly bearing, made him the best known, the best loved, and the most popular boy at college. He was the arbiter among younger boys in all their disputes, and the authority with those of his own age on all questions."

Young Blaine's chief diversion while in college seems to have been the hunting of the bushy-tailed fox, which abounded in the region. In his sportsman's excursions he often accompanied a negro named Randolph Tearle. who was accounted the most skilful huntsman in the valley. Washington County is in the midst of gently undulating hills, covered with generous forests, and was a fruitful field for this kind of sport when James Blaine roamed over it as a boy. The county is now, as it had begun to be then, a rich agricultural region. More wool is taken from the sheep that pasture on its hills than from those of any other county in the United States, and it has fairly productive beds of coal. On its streams the college lad beguiled his idle hours boating or fishing. The Monongahela River is the eastern boundary of Washington County, and there are numerous creeks within its limits. One of his acquaintances in the town of Washington says; "There is not a stump or rock on these hills that

in whose careers their ancient neiglbor honest pride, are held in such kindly re Brownsville and Washington the visitor with reminiscences of his early years. The memorable or even very entertaining, but ably delivered with a heart.

memorable or even very entertaining, but ably delivered with a heartiness which give as expressions of the popular liking for Mr those who have known him intimately. liked not only because these people rement antly, but because he remembers them I when he has returned to his old home his cory has accompanied him, and his success I him to deny the humblest of his old associa "The class list will have shown his standing uation,—certainly not discreditable to one we bered as a good but not sedulous student by ions. It is said that he excelled in mathemal languages. It was a fit close to his college can as a pathetic beginning of his life-work, the

mencement oration should have been upon "?
an Educated American."
An able biographer, in describing the collec-

person; his ready sympathy and prompt assistance; his frank and generous nature, and his brave, manly bearing, made him the best known, the best loved, and the most popular boy at college. He was the arbiter among younger boys in all their disputes, and the authority with those of his own age on all questions.

"He was a natural student, excelling pre-eminently in mathematics and English branches, showing also good work in the dead languages of the classics. Mathematics without question were to him a pleasure. He threw into the pursuit of them all the ardor of a budding enthusiasm. He delighted in the close reasoning; the subtle logic; the inevitable and invincible proofs of which the problems and positions were susceptible. He enjoyed a sort of personal satisfaction in the triumph of a mathematical principle, as though he, its demonstrator, was also its inventor. He was always perfect in mathematical recitations, and was the idol of his teacher, Professor Aldrich. Possessed of an extraordinary memory and great quickness of apprehension, he was able to take strong hold of the subjects he studied and retain them.

"One peculiar trait of his character as then formed, and which he constantly exhibited, was perfect self-reliance. While others might follow the ordinary beaten tracks, he took delight in getting out of them. Notably so when one warm sunny afternoon in May, 1846, at a recitation in mathematics, he stood before his class, and having drawn the figure on the blackboard, he was proceeding to prove the proposition it contained when he was interrupted by the professor.

"James, you are not following the mode of proof of the author."

To which the lad, with quick, earnest tones, replied:

"What does it matter if I can demonstrate the principle

of thought and ability to lead, as showing to reach a result by his own ingenuity, and than the beaten way, that marked this same characteristic that so often since captured the great audience of the Unifellow-citizens.

"Jim Blaine possessed the faculty of al good showing in his classes, and even wh prepared, his quickness and apparent famil lessons would carry him safely through, an occasion did occur, it required shrew than Washington College boasted of having deficiencies. This prominence in his class by his classmates to be due to his talents and occasioned, therefore, no jealousy nor he a fact that can be the more easily appreciate remembered that while Euclid presented no not even the old bugbear pons asinorum-to Tacitus was equally a friend of the young was thoroughly familiar with the Greek poets. "Fond of literature for the delightful insi him into the companionship of great minds, ar vista of other worlds than were visible

pages of Ben Johnson, the lighter fancies of Oliver Goldsmith mingled their varied influences with the greater histories and the more modest story of the young Republic. To the tale of 1776 and the early days of his country's career young Blaine lent more than a willing ear, and was never tired of the story of how large a part his great grandfather had played in that sad yet glorious drama. The taste for history, too, founded a solid taste in literature that has ever since continued to such excellent advantage, and notably makes brilliant the pages of "Twenty Years of Congress."

"Washington College, like similar institutions, sustained two literary societies, the "Washington" and the "Union," which were the pride of the college. There was between them always a keen and honorable rivalry. The canvass for new members at the opening of each term of college was very lively. New students were buttonholed on every street corner, at every boarding-house, or "fort," as it was termed, by some one of the ardent Unionists or Washingtonians. Jim Blaine was an ardent and energetic adherent of the "Washington," and made an admirable canvasser for recruits. He was always alert, and succeeded in winning many converts. It was here that he first displayed his remarkable aptitude as a presiding officer, and he displayed it in a way thoroughly characteristic. Having been elected archon, or president, he committed Cushing's Manual to memory before his installation, and calmly astonished his most intimate friends by the perfect ease and promptness with which he made his decisions and their absolute correctness. His membership in Washington demonstrated that he was a natural debater, not a wrangler, but a reasoning disputant, who delighted in convincing his opponent, if possible, that he was wrong. Political subjects in those days were his

one of his aversions; yet, wher could be induced to take part in the ga quit himself as well with his feet as he di his head. Indeed, in athletic sports h leader than in any other place, seeming concede superiority to others in those a which could be of no benefit in future life the foundation for a good physique, of w

conscious he was even then fully possessed. "His ambition to excel never slept, y him into doing anything which could po fellow-student. The selfishness which is make one try to excel was not with him work a wrong on another. He was ne wrapped up in himself that he could not e measure of praise to a successful classmate, edge his merits in a just and proper manner sense of justice was added a strong and ne

spirit of forgiveness. "Such qualities naturally drew the boys to personal magnetism which draws and binds one's self was a marked feature in his charact never a fop, he was always neat in his dreing in the street

the Monongabela there was no boy in the town who could make himself more agreeable during the long, white winter evenings or in a ramble over the summer hills, clad in all the glorious verdure of the woods.

"And young Blaine's popularity among the young ladies of Washington was but the echo of his popularity everywhere. His obedience to the rules of the institution made him popular with the faculty, especially its president, the Rev. David McConaughy, D. D., the honored and faithful pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Washington, the church young Blaine attended every Sabbath morning.

"It can be said of him, as perhaps of few others that have passed through college, that he carefully guarded his habits, and left college, as he entered it, without any stain upon his name, and without having been guilty of those excesses that sometimes leave their imprint in after life because of habits formed that were hard to get rid of.

"It can be also truly said of him that he was, although surrounded by considerable temptation, strongly temperate, and that he rather prided himself upon the fact that he would not touch intoxicating liquor of any kind. In his intercourse with his classmates he was polite and gentlemanly; always maintaining a certain self-respect, he commanded admiration, was careful not to wound their feelings, and left them at the close of his college life without an enemy among the number. He graduated with honor to himself, and left behind him a reputation for integrity, good behavior, and scholarship which few students attain."

Mr. Blaine graduated on the 25th of September, 1847, at the age of seventeen years and eight months, with the full approval of the faculty of his college, which consisted of: Rev. David McConaughy, D. D., LL. D., presi-

esor of Physiology and Hygiene.

The following is the programme of the C Exercises, with the names of his classmates

ANNUAL COMMENCEMENT

WASHINGTON COLLEGE, PA.

Wednesday, September 29, 1847.

GRADUATING CLASS.

Andrew Barr,
George Baird,
James G. Blaine,
Josiah C. Cooper,
George D. Curtis,
Thomas Creighton,
R. C. Colmery,
Gephas Dodd,
Hugh W. Forbes,
Alexander M. Gow,
John C. Hervey,

John H. Hampton,
R. C. Holliday,
John G. Jacob,
Samuel Po
Samuel Po
William H.
Samuel Po
William H.
Samuel Po
William H.
Samuel Po
Samuel Po
William H.
Samuel Po
William H.
Samuel Po
William H.
Samuel Po
Samuel Po
Samuel Po
William H.
Samuel Po
William S.
Moore,
J. R. Moore,
M. P. Morrison,
James H. St
Alexander V.
Alexander V.

ORDED

Music.
4th. Oration-The Sword and the Plough.
J. G. Jacob, Wellsburgh, Va.
Music.
5th. Oration—Byron Huston Quail, Union Valley, Pa.
6th. Oration—The Era of Napoleon.
La Fayette Markle, Mill Grove, Pa.
Music.
7th. A Poem-The Collegian G. D. Curtis, Grove Creek, Va.
Music.
8th. Oration-Moral Warfare J. R. Moore, Wellsville, O.
Music. 9th. Oration—Poverty Useful in the devlopment of Genius
R. C. Colmery, Hayesville, O.
Music.
10th, Oration-The American Boy
E. B. Neely, Washington City, D. C.
Music—Conferring of Degrees—Music.
11th. Valedictory William M. Orr, Wayne County, O.
- Music.

BENEDICTION.

As will be seen from the programme, the honor of the class was divided between John. C. Hervey, who had the Latin oration; Thomas Porter, who had the Greek oration; and James G. Blaine, who took the oration in English. This was the class, augmented by seven since the Freshmen year, and containing many who in after years rose to positions of distinction and honor in the country. Blaine never forgot his classmates. Says a correspond-

"A few years ago in a little town of Ohio during the excitement of a wild political tempest, Senator Blaine, of Maine, was advertised to make a political speech. A number of old Washington students living within a few miles of the place assembled, and were waiting with eager, flashing faces and high-beating hearts, his arrival at the station. The orator, in charge of a committee, on the way to

the hotel, discovered the party. Breaking away from his

ent:-

boys who met him, it was a bright day for Some of the number had never trained or his political party, nor subscribed to his plut admiration for the boy that all rememberings of love and esteem had drawn them to he and they met, not as politicians, but as lad

he and they met, not as politicians, but as lad
Thirty-five years were rolled back; gray I
black again; stooped forms were straighten
and the boys were together again.

"A tall, well-knit figure, a good student, a
bater a quick parliament."

and the boys were together again.

"A tall, well-knit figure, a good student, a bater a quick parliamentarian, ambition to ex and easy manners, and a personal magnetism pelled others to admire and love him, were s things which distinguished Jim Blaine at collemnth these traits have been developed and stren his life since then, it is for the friends of the Hom Blaine, of Maine, to say. To his old classmate ege classmen he will always be Jim; not irrevent in the rough affectionate language of chool."

by hundreds, fitted by thorough collegiate training for every variety of profession and other respectable service. More than three thousand graduates, besides an almost equal number who have taken a partial course, embracing fourteen hundred ministers, seventeen hundred and fifty lawyers, four hundred physicians, six or eight United States senators, six cabinet officers, fifty or more representatives in congress, sixty judges, forty-five college presidents, seventy-five college professors, twenty-five professors in theological seminaries, as many principals of female seminaries; to say nothing of the headships of countless academies-surely this is a production of cultured men which may be safely put in competition with that of any other community in kind or value, or with any scale of material interests actual or possible in like circumstances. Proud therefore as we may be to be reckoned in the front rank of the world's competitors as producers of the world's finest wool, and rejoicing as we do in the heritage of a soil and climate unsurpassed for the multiplied and varied comforts of life, our highest exultation is in the educated men who have carried the name and fame of Washington County as a chief home of culture into the foremost rivalry of our country, and made it known across the seas."

In writing to the people of his native county on the occasion of their Centennial celebration in 1881, James G. Blaine pleasantly enlarged upon the same topic. "I had anticipated," he writes, "great pleasure in being present at the Centennial celebration of the erection of Washington County, but the national sorrow which shadows every household detains me here.

"I shall perhaps never again have the opportunity of seeing so many friends of my youth, and so many of my

ing-nearted, God-fearing, resolute or almost wholly, of Scotch or Scotch Irish o were men who, according to an inherited turned their backs on friend or enemy.

"For twenty years, dating from the mis the revolution, the settlers were composed v men who had themselves served in the Commany of them as officers, and they imparts patriotism to the public sentiment.

"It may be among the illusions of memory I have nowhere else seen the Fourth of Jul ington's birthday celebrated with such zeal as in the gatherings I there attended. I I meeting of the people on the Fourth of July, border of the county, in Brownsville, at which able part of the procession was composed of v taining Revolutionary soldiers. I was but te and may possibly mistake, but I think there than two hundred of the grand old heroes. cant and criticism which we sometimes hear al ington not being, after all, a very great man, been dangerous talk on that day and in that as "These pioneers placed a high value on educ

while they were still on the

civilization of that great country which lies between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi River. Their graduates have been prominent in the pulpit, at the bar, on the bench and in the high stations of public life. During my service of eighteen years in Congress, I met a larger number of the Alumni of Washington and Jefferson than of any other single college in the Union.

"I make this statement from memory, but I feel assured that a close examination of the rolls of the two Houses, from 1863 to 1881, would fully establish its correctness. Not only were the two colleges founded and well sustained, but the entire educational system of the county, long before the school tax and public schools, was comprehensive and thorough. I remember that in my boyhood there were ten or eleven academies or select schools in the county, where lads could be fitted for college.

"In nearly every instance the Presbyterian pastor was the principal teacher. Many who will be present at your Centennial will recall the succession of well drilled students who came for so many years from the tuition of Dr. McCluskey, at West Alexander, from Rev. John Stockton, at Cross Creek, from Rev. John Eagleson, of Buffalo, and from others of like worth and education.

"It was inevitable that a county thus peopled should grow in strength, wisdom and wealth. Its sixty thousand inhabitants are favored far beyond the average lot of man. They are blessed with a fertile soil, and with the health-giving climate which belongs to the charmed latitude of the fortieth parallel, the middle of the wheat and corn belt of the continent. Beyond this they enjoy the happy and ennobling influences of scenery as grand and as beautiful as that which lures tourists thousands of miles beyond the sea. I have myself visited many of the celebrated spots in Europe and America, and I have nowhern

wenty miles distant, in full view, gave of beauty and sublimity which can never b "I talk thus familiarly of localities and incidents, because your assemblage, though thousands, will, in effect, be a family reun only thing in order will be tradition, recolle sonal history. Identified, as I have been eight years, with a great and noble peop section of the Union, I have never lost any

ment for my native county and native star feelings no more conflict than does a man' wife and his love for his mother. Wherever life, or whatever my fortune, the county of as it anciently was, taking all the state, so of the Monongahela, will be sacred to my shall always recall with pride that my ancestr red were, and are, not inconspicuously connec history, and that on either side of the beauti Protestant and Catholic cemeteries, five general

James entered college at the unusually early teen, yet he appears to have been thoroughly eq his undertaking, if not in that proficiency which

own blood sleep in honored graves."

ford, at least in noti-





get hands on. Though she knew him as "Jim," she paid many visits before she got sight of him. He was not a fine looking boy at that stage of his career. His development was just beginning. He had a large frame, but was thin and ungainly. His clothes sat awkwardly on him and he had no apparent pride in personal appearance. His books were a hobby, and his ungainly way that of the student. As he grew older he began to fill out and by the time he graduated he was a comely youth.

All the narratives of this portion of his life confirm the impression that he was shy of society, awkward in demeanor, and inclined to solitude. He was not an active participant in college sports. The literary and debating societies found in him a special supporter. He wrote an excellent essay and read before his class with clearness and vigor. In all respects he was diligent, persistent and frank, seeking rather the roots of things than the things themselves. Though easily the leading man of his class none prophesied for him so brilliant a career as he shaped in practical life. He seemed to be created for emergencies, and responded to a sudden call with remarkable aptitude. He was most original and powerful when he had least time to think, and when exigency stirred to effort, He would do in the midst of trial what another could not accomplish, and as he rose to the occasion it was easy to discern that more than ordinary genius reposed within him. His tastes were mathematical and logical rather than classical. In debate he was argumentative rather than persuasive, and he preferred political themes to those of a less lively type. He was a Whig by birthright and during his second collegiate year, in 1844, the brilliancy of his arguments respecting the Mexican war drew general remark. The Whigs had a log cabin headquarters near the college and there he often found outlet for his While in college he hold the

While in college he held the respect a his instructors. He boarded for a tin Nicholas Murray, who held the chair of a and between the two the warmest affection the Professor died, Blaine interested him subscription toward a monument, and tribute to his memory which to-day orn lege campus is chiefly due to the exert tionate pupil.

Perhaps the most remarkable quality was his memory. This he developed by and it has proven one of the essential secre in life. While he read much, he arrange so as to leave an indelible impression on h measures, dates, events, took classified sl and he recalled each and all with phenome.

and he recalled each and all with phenomer.

He graduated in 1847, at the early age.

The honors of his class were divided betwee other students. He stepped forth into the tiring inclinations, but a stern necessity for combat. He could not hope for further as his father, whose remaining property was away, nor did the

livelihood and for reputation would call forth the talents, that otherwise might lie concealed.

He wished to be a lawyer, but the question of an immediate living confronted him. He could earn that and at the same time benefit others. He could do more, and perhaps he felt it necessary, for now there were in his father's family two younger brothers, Robert and John, and that father was out of public office. Thus situated, he turned his attention toward teaching as the most favorable and remunerative occupation open to him. And so he left home, to gather fortune from the busy world, and crown himself with such honors as are vouchsafed to but few mortals.

CHAPTER III.

A TEACHER.

IT was not long before an opportunity opened to the ambitious young man. Through the influence of Hon. Thomas Ewing, he was offered a position in the Western Military Academy, at Blue Lick Springs, Kentucky, of which Col. Thornton F. Johnson was principal. The place he assumed was the chair of mathematics. Into the profession of a teacher he entered with his whole nature, and was from the first a successful instructor. The same characteristics which led him to defend the smaller and weaker boys in college, made him a favorite with his pupils. He had a natural and strong repugnance to every kind of oppression. He would not stand quietly and see a strong boy abuse a weak one, or silently allow a burly boy to tease a timid one. One of his scholars writing from Kentucky in 1863, says :- "He should have been a judge. His keen sense of justice and his wonderful ability to discover deceit or sham made him a master of the situation. They often managed to deceive the other teachers, and could offer frail excuses to the principal, often with impunity, but to Mr. Blaine, never. He knew before we spoke, and often kindly saved the boys from lying by rebuking them first and letting them explain afterwards. I never knew of his making a mistake in that matter."

In the Military Institute there were between four and five hundred pupils, many of them of that fiery temperament incident to the locality and era. They were of

diverse politics, and not a few of them became conspicuous in military and political life, dividing on the lines drawn by the great war of the Rebellion. When one of them, who became a prominent Tennessee lawyer, heard of Blaine's advocacy of the abolition doctrine, he said to a friend :- "He is consistent to his old life. It was natural for him to dislike slavery." In that institute Blaine was clearly a favorite. He knew every boy by name, and knew also their individual tastes and characters. He sympathized with the suffering and enjoyed the sports of the strong. As a teacher he was clear and simple in his explanations and deeply in earnest in imparting information. Yet not even his aptitude and earnestness as teacher could suppress his inclination for the legal profession, for which his native fearlessness and insight into human nature seemed to especially fit him.

Twenty miles away from Blue Lick Springs was Millersburg, in which was located a Young Ladies' Seminary, over which the wife of Col. Johnson presided. This institution contained the magnet which was to attract the young professor and influence his entire after life. She was Miss Harriet Stanwood of Augusta, Maine, a descendant of old Puritan stock in a direct line from the Stanwoods of Ipswich, Massachusetts. She resided with her sister in Millersburg, and was a teacher in the female seminary. Young Blaine became enamored of her talents and person and they became engaged. They were married in Pittsburg in 1851.

Of Blaine's career, while a Professor in the Blue Lick Springs Institute, the late John F. Edmonds of Hopkinsville, Ky., writes:—"I shall never forget his manly, generous friendship. I was involved in a difficulty with a boy belonging to a wealthy and influential family, and in the course of the quarrel he applied a vulgar epithet to

said that he could not wi a boy when love and reverence him in trouble. "This boy," said foul insult to his absent mother. and honor, especially with the pect tucky boy, would not resent such

than an insult to himself? I will r censure him, but say that I think h feel more like praising than reprov magnetic speech worked like magic the faculty and the offender was tu tle admonition.

Blaine's reputation for courage wa his career at Blue Lick. A blood faculty of the school and the owne volving some question about the retook place. During the affray you the bravest manner, fighting hard bu volvers and knives were freely used but the Pennsylvania teacher used onl muscles. The faculty won, and the been a leader in a winning fight, a g.

not in the least detrimental to the suc

pedagogue

which it had wrought. The effect of this contact upon Mr. Blaine in after years was very marked, and his position on the slavery question, even while in the homes of those fostering the system, was that of decided opposition to the iniquity in every form and shape.

In an editorial, printed in the Kennebec Journal, January 15th, 1855, Mr. Blaine thus throws a side light on his life in Kentucky and the unshaken opinions that he then formed concerning slavery:

THE "AGE" GROWING PERSONAL.

We find the following precious morceau in the Age of Saturady last:

"One of the editors of the new Morrill organ in this city has too recently partaken of the 'slaveholder's salt,' and reposed beneath the shadow of the 'peculiar institution,' to authorize him to lecture contemporaries on their duty to the cause of 'freedom.' We would recommend to his consideration Shakespeare's advice to new beginners in the art theatrical."

"We—the editor referred to in this would-be severe paragraph—have to plead guilty to a residence of four years, prior to and including 1850, in the State of Kentucky. We were engaged in what we still consider the honorable capacity of a teacher, in a literary institution, then and now in deservedly high standing with the several states, both North and South, which patronize and sustain it. Invited to take the position for a certain pecuniary consideration, which we regularly received, and having to the best of our ability and to the satisfaction of all concerned discharged our duties, we have been under the impression that the matter was closed and nothing due from either party to the other in the way of personal obligation or po-

litical fealty. The Age, however, seems to think that having partaken of the "slaveholder's salt" (for which we paid), we should be dumb to the slaveholder's wrong-doings. So conscious are they of the potency of a little "administration salt" in shutting their own mouths and stifling their real sentiments on the slavery question, that they cannot conceive of any one taking a more independent or more manly course.

"We beg leave further to say (since we are reluctantly forced into this allusion to self) that the anti-slavery sentiments, which, from our earliest youth, we imbibed in our native Pennsylvania—the first of the "old thirteen" to abolish slavery—were deepened and strengthened by a residence among slaveholders, and that nowhere, either on slave soil or on free soil, have we expressed other feelings than those of decided hostility to the extension of the withering course.

"Our residence in the South gave us, we hope, the advantage of a thorough comprehension of the question of slavery in all its aspects and of the views of the men who sustain it. It taught us, among other things, that slaveholders, whilst wholly unreasonable and even perfidious in their aggressions upon freedom, have yet the magnanimity to despise a Nothern traitor; and that all organists and apologists of dough-facery, after earning the contempt of freeman at home, have only for consolation the kicks and cuffs of their Southern masters.

"But we forbear; the opinion now current is that our neighbors of the Age, in consenting to preach acquiescence under the "crushing out" process of Pierce and Cushing, went it dirt cheap, and have even failed to receive the whole of the stipulated compensation. Under this belief the derision which they so richly merited and at first so bountifully received is rapidly subsiding and giving place

to a feeling of pity; in this, we trust, we have the generosity to share, and cannot therefore find it in our heart to add a single taunt or unkind remark."

From this it is easily seen that when he raised his voice against this blot upon the nineteenth century's civilization, he spoke not from blind prejudices but from thorough knowledge of circumstances existing in the slaveholding States. This, therefore, gave great force to all his utterances on subjects relating to the South, both during and since our Civil War.

In the year 1852, Blaine arrived in Philadelphia in response to an advertisement of Mr. William Chapin, Principal of the Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind. He accepted the position of teacher in that Institution and employed his leisure time in studying law with Hon. Theodore Cuyler, though he was never admitted to the bar. Of his advent and career at this Institution Mr. Chapin says:—

"We needed," he writes, "a principal instructor in the Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind, in the year 1852. A large number answered my advertisement; and one, whose fine manly presence and intellectual features struck me so favorably that no difficulty existed in making a selection. The appointment was at once made. His estimable wife and little son, Walter, a beautiful boy of about two years, was welcomed with the husband and father, though not within the rules of the institution in such cases, and the only exception ever made. But we could not afford to reject a case whose promise was as one in a thousand.

"We were not disappointed. He had charge of the higher classes in literature and science. The blind are taught orally in great part. Their mental work is remarkable. The most abstruse and difficult mathematical problems are mastered by them. And Mr. Blaine's brilliant mental powers were exactly qualified to enlighten and instruct the interesting minds before him, and solve all their difficulties.

"He was a good speaker and talker. He had a remarkable fluency of words, and his language was good. He was an excellent scholar. His memory of facts and persons of the long past was wonderful. He was especially fond of debate, and his ready memory gave him great advantages. We had many argumentative contests together during the two years he remained with us. He was positive, self-possessed, and determined, if possible, to gain his point.

"Mr. Blaine, it will be remembered, was at that period (1852 to 1854) a young man. His experiences since then have all been in the direction of improvement and great enlargement of opportunity in public life. If he was a young intellectual giant then, we may presume those powers are now somewhat colossal.

"He left our institution in 1854, to take charge of a public journal in Maine. I marked his rapid course. He was elected soon to the State Legislature. I noticed, but without surprise, his statistical reports on State and other subjects. He was great on figures, dates, and facts, as had been already noticed when with us, in the compilation, in manuscript, of a quarto volume of 284 pages, giving all the business, history, and facts connected with the progress of the institution until the day he left. This large voluntary work, in his own quiet hours after the duties of the day, was a surprise and gratification to the managers, who made a suitable recognition of this interesting gift. The volume is preserved in the institution as a testimonial of its author, and is the more valued

for the great and popular favor he now enjoys throughout the country."

"He was a man," Mr. Chapin has elsewhere said, "of very decided will, and was very much disposed to argument. He was young then—only twenty-two—and was rather impulsive, leaping to a conclusion very quickly. But he was always ready to defend his conclusions, however suddenly he seemed to have reached them. We had many a familiar discussion in this very room, and his arguments always astonished me by the knowledge they displayed of facts in history and politics. His memory was remarkable, and seemed to retain details which ordinary men would forget."

The title-page of the book which he compiled reads:

JOURNAL
of the
PENNSYLVANIA INSTITUTION
for the
INSTRUCTION OF THE BLIND,
from its foundation.

Compiled from official records by JAMES G. BLAINE. 1854.

The book is made with perfect method, the abbreviations used being explained on the first page. On the flyleaf is the following:

"On this and the four following pages will be found some notes in regard to the origin of the Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind, furnished by I. Francis Fisher." "From this page, the 188th," says a Philadelphia journal, "in which is the last entry made by Mr. Blaine, every line is a model of neatness and accuracy. On every page is a wide margin. At the top of the mar-

usts of officers of the ins cal tables, compiled by the same pe hand. One of the lists is that of the No. 13 is followed by the signature from August 5, 1852, to'-and then, in record is completed with the date Nove "I think that the book," says Mr. Cl the character of the man in accurate ma orderly presentation of details. We st ence, and Mr. Frank Battles, the assi

bringing the record down to the present "Mr. Blaine taught mathematics, in w

beloved, and often read aloud to the p went away to become editor of the Ken felt that we had lost a man of large pa watched his upward career with great in called here a number of times when he sto on his way to and from Washington. was here he heard with great interest of D. D. Wood, the blind organist of St. St who was one of his pupils, and recalled M

and the higher branches.

ficiency in mathematics." "Three persons

fun, into which they entered heartily. I think that Mrs. Blaine read nearly all of Dickens' works aloud to us; and Mr. Blaine used to make us roar with laughter by reading out of a work entitled 'Charcoal Sketches.' In the evening he used to read aloud to both the boys and girls. Then we would wind up with a spelling-bee. Sometimes Mr. Blaine would give out the words and sometimes one of the big boys would do it, while Mr. Blaine stood up among the boys. Then we would have great fun trying to 'spell the teacher down.'"

When this institution, in which Mr. Blaine for the second time discharged the functions of teacher, was first established, there was but one other similar establishment in the country, that of Boston, which had begun its work only the year previous. "It was, therefore," we are told, "an untried enterprise that its founders undertook, and its success is wholly due to their wisdom, energy, and devotion to the interests of the blind. Starting in a rented house, with an assessed income of only \$1,000 a year, it now possesses a fine building, and has, in addition to receiving a subsidy from the State, through the liberality of its friends, an income of its own. The fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the institution was publicly celebrated by appropriate exercises at Association Hall, on March 5, 1884."

CHAPTER IV.

AN EDITOR.

THE strictly journalistic career of James G. Blaine may be said to have extended over six years, from 1854 to 1860. It was in the former year that he severed his connection with the Institution of the Blind in Philadelphia, and moved to Augusta, Maine, the former home of his wife.

The two great parties of the time were the Whigs and the Democrats. There were ominous movements in Congress; there were doubtful fears surrounding and darkening the doors of the White House. The Missouri Compromise, the Lecompton Constitution, the blood poured upon the soil of Kansas, the admission of certain States, the triumphs and treacheries of the Whigs, the distrusts and successes of the Democracy, were the incidents of the years just preceding Mr. Blaine's entry into journalism and the years just following.

We recall thus briefly the great and involved issues of the hour in order that the reader may see exactly what labor lay before the young journalist when he grasped his pen to grapple with these questions and to give forth no uncertain sound. And it should be remembered also that at that time the attention paid to the editorial, and the influence carried in the editorial, were far greater and farther-reaching than is possible to-day, in this era of newspapers and not newspaper men. At that time the editorial was the personality of the editor, to-day it is

only so in the columns of very few of the existing journals; then the editor was the real leader in a fight; people waited to see what he said, and, no matter the length of his editorial, they read it through!

At the time of his arrival in Maine the Kennebec Journal was the leading paper in the valley of the river, and owned by William H. Wheeler and William H. Simpson. Wheeler was originally the editor, but he sold his interest to Simpson, who in turn sold to Joseph Baker, a lawyer of Augusta, who stood in need of an editor. The paper was a weekly, with tri-weekly editions during the session of the Legislature. In young Blaine, Baker found a suitable associate, and through the means of his brotherin-law, Jacob Stanwood, the name of "Baker and Blaine" appeared at the head of its columns. This was really Blaine's first natural outlet. In college he had been no mean essayist, and his controversialism had been marked. He had decided views and pronounced ability. His habit of thought suited the editorial chair. New ambitions and hopes quickly dawned on him. An era of influence set in. His latent powers of mind and character soon began to be seen and understood. So marked was his advent that in a very short while he was personally known to every man in Augusta. His stirring editorials became the town talk. His development into a strong, pointed, influential writer was phenomenal.

On taking charge of the paper, the leader entitled "Our Future Course" thus outlined the policy of the paper:—

"Politically, The Journal will pursue the same course it has marked out for the last two months. We shall cordially support the Morrill or Republican party, the substantial principles of which are, as we understand them: freedom, temperance, river and harbor improvement within

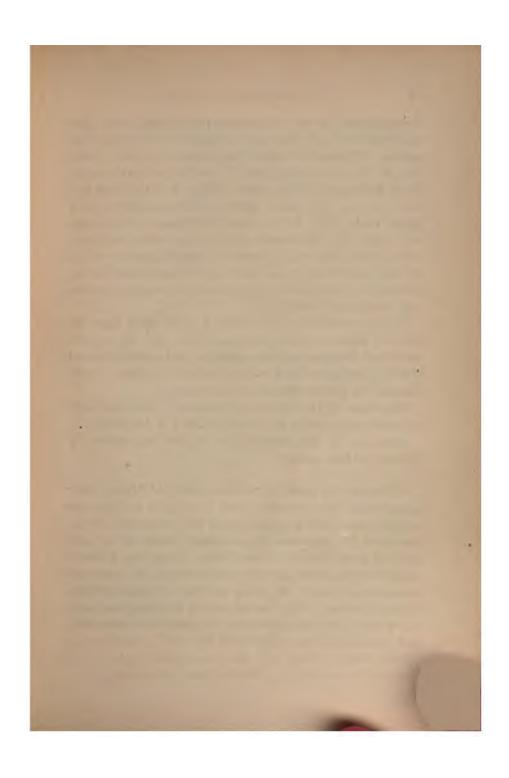
Constitutional limits, homesteads for freemen, and a just administration of the public lands of the State and nation. We shall advocate the cause of popular education as the surest safeguard of our Republican institutions, and especially the common schools of the State and city. . . . We shall devote a department of our paper each week to religious intelligence of all kinds, and desire that our friends of all denominations will consider themselves invited freely to communicate anything in this department which they wish to have made public, particularly notices of religious conventions, ordinations and meetings of such kind."

It is a most interesting study to look back over the files of Blaine's paper, and mark how, day by day, he developed from an unknown stranger, and unsophisticated youth, into the strong writer and able thinker. Until then all his powers were kept in abeyance.

Selections of the following paragraphs from his early editorials and reports will show the bent of his genius.

Speaking of the organization of the Legislature of Maine, in 1855, he said:

"Thus is the great Republican party of Maine fairly inaugurated into power in the Legislative departments of the State, with a popular good will, a prestige of success, and the elements of permanency such as no party has had since the birth of our State. Long may it live to protect our interests, develop our resources, and under all circumstances dare to do right, and trust the consequences to Infinite Wisdom. Let it be not merely the inauguration of a new party, but the exhaltation of principle above party, and the embodiment of honesty into the administration of the State. Then will the honest and good of all classes rally around it, rejoice in it and perpetuate it."





In one place an unjust and foolish judge is said to have charged the Grand Jury of honest men, that they ought to indite some men of the opposite political party for holding secret meetings, whereupon Blaine quaintly remarks: "The Grand Jury listened to the judge with profound attention, and responded, ahem!"

"There might be some reason in the counsel to compromise where the issue is not one of morals, or is doubtful and undefined, but when asked to compromise with an undisguised, opened, hideous wrong like slavery! Never."

"Ought a nation, in strict justice, to be measured by a moral standard different from that which determines the character of a man?"

"All arrows dipped in bad rum or the poison of slander will fall powerless at the moral man's feet."

"In the old country, it is said, everybody is trying to find out what his ancestors were by birth, instead of what he himself is by nature. This is certainly the fittest way possible to make a fool of any man who has not had the misfortune to be born one."

"Slavery is sectional and temporary, freedom is national and universal."

"Always revert to the plain facts, and view them separate from all party and sectional influences."

One or two items like the following extract show that Blaine had to meet the usual local prejudice against "Carpetbaggers."

"In reply to the Collector's fierce onslaught upon ourselves, we have not a word to offer. We bow our heads, overcome. The charge of being 'an imported Federalist "Treat your farm and your cattle will soon see that 'honesty is the best

"A nation is a home in theory. Rebuking a brother sincerely ought no matter to what party he belongs."

Speaking of the rumors of filibuste seize and occupy various States of C said:

"It requires no sagacity to see the design of this movement. It is nothin less than planting the seeds of slave climate, where, when they are duly rip States may be formed, which in due tin ation to our government, and have the by the present Southern States under dissolution of the Union."

In 1855, Anson P. Morrill was chose Legislature. The Maine Law was to Journal was its defender.

"We beg to say that the anti-slaver; from our earliest youth, we imbibed i sylvania,—the first of the 'old thi slavery, were deepened and strengthe "The Southerners despise a Northern traitor; and all organists and apologists of dough-facery, after earning the contempt of freemen at home, have only for consolation the kicks and cuffs of their Southern masters."

Speaking of the proposition to carry slavery into free Kansas:

"Let not the fatal spirit of compromise induce us to acquiesce in past wrongs, because of some promised advantage and security in future. 'Compromise with Slavery' is but another phase of 'Sacrifice of Liberty;' and in the past we have had enough, and more, of that."

Speaking of the outcome of the Republican State Convention in 1855:

"The doctrines of the resolutions may strongly resemble the Whig doctrines of the American Revolution. They may be like the Democratic ideas of Thomas Jefferson. They express the principles and the settled determination of the Republicans of Maine."

"The Republican party can well sustain the loss of the vote of any man who is willing, directly or indirectly, to endorse the administration of President Pierce, with all its measures of infamy."

"The only reliable allies the slaveholders have in this State are the Pierce and Douglas Democrats, the broken and demoralized remnants of that once proud and dominant party which endorsed the Wilmot proviso in 1847, the flower of which has, by principles, courage and numbers, done so much to form the strong and determined Republican party of the State, which is pledged to stand by the interests of liberty and the Union."

"We make it as a sober and well-considered statement, that our country is to-day in greater peril by elements and agencies within her borders, than at the commencement of the Revolution by the plans of the British ministry and the power of British arms. It requires no prophet to decide that the aggressions of the slave power are more dangerous to the freedom and progress of the American people, than the threatened despotism of England in 1775. And what is the most melancholy and shameful, these aggressions have been invited and vastly strengthened by the treachery and cowardice of men living in the Free States."

"There never existed in the State of Maine such a powerful political organization as the Republican party is to-day. They have shown their mettle in a contest where the fire raged fiercely, and they have come out with banners flying and with words of good cheer from more than 50,000 men. Such a result ought not to be called a defeat; it is rather a glorious triumph, and the sure presage of future and continued victories. If any Republican in the whole State feels the least discouraged, he is not a worthy soldier in the cause."

"The Republican party is the only true National party. Its platform is the only ground upon which the friends of the Union can stand. Its fast-gathering strength is to be the bulwark of the Union against the dangers that thicken around its future. It is the only breakwater against the black tide of despotism that threatens to spread over the whole country. It calls on the nation to return to the policy, the principles, and the maxims of the statesmen who won our liberties, reared the fabric of our government, and gave its first direction. Its principles are broad as the Union. It demands national men, national measures, and is the only truly national party that has the prospect of carrying the country against the sectional, dangerous and corrupt, political organization that now controls the

country, to the disgrace of the American name throughout the civilized world."

He had many strong editorials in opposition to the delusion of squatter sovereignty, pleading that this is a nation, and not a confederation of States, held together by a rope of sand.

At near the close of 1855, he wrote:

"The deepening cry from all quarters is, that the White House must be cleansed, and all the channels to and from the same thoroughly renovated. The march of slavery must be stopped, or the nation is lost. Only by the firm and practical union of all true men in the nation can its most valuable interests be preserved. This great question (the extension of human bondage), which gathers around the gateway of the Northwest, cannot be postponed; it presses for decision now. Other issues may be safely deferred, without loss, but the questions raised by the Missouri Prohibition cannot be deferred. It is often the case with nations, as with individuals, that events of the most weighty and lasting consequences converge on a single point, which cannot be neglected without final loss, beyond the hope of recovery. We have approached twelve on the dial of time, beyond which it must not pass before the right course of action is taken, or the result of delay is fatal through long years. He is a puerile trifler, a sneaking dough-face, or a traitor to his country, who wishes to divide or distract the public mind with other political topics and designs, when there is the most pressing need that the true men of the nation should unite to take right and sure action on what is of the utmost importance to the Union."

Of an absurd inauguration prayer in 1856, he wrote:

[&]quot;Edward Everett, as every one knows, made the best

" Mr. Wade's re-election is his th against the puerile slanders and falseh by a reckless and mercenary press, tha the Union. The great State of Ohi the Union with strong chains of intelying alongside the States of slavery, a sister States, reports in the popular br

principles and true position

ment unanimously against a petition shows her devotion to freedom and th electing by a vote of nearly three t stands firmly in defense of the North w are assailed by the aggressions of slaver be followed up by the people, that the unshrinking are to be most sustained, a flunkeyism will go down at once in th While all haste and imprudence should ing is clearer than that timidity and we the miasma of death to a great moral cause of freedom has become before the It is an encouraging fact that the Re bringing to its folds the choicest and al country, and if it will not shrink, no capable of giving him a fair trial as are bribed jurors to do justice to two parties. No matter what evidence may be submitted to exculpate Judge Davis from the charges laid against him; no matter how clearly learned counsel may demonstrate that his removal would be a violation of the spirit of the constitution and a precedent of a dangerous and alarming character; no matter what may be done, or what may be said, what may be proved, or what may be disproved, Judge Davis must go off the bench. King Caucus, that omnipotent monarch in drilled party organizations, has decreed it, and his obedient subjects must enforce the edict. A formal trial is to be held, but in reality it is a sham and a mockery."

Between the two champions of Republicanism in Maine, Lot M. Morrill and Hannibal Hamlin, there was in 1857, a rivalry for senatorial honors. Mr. Hamlin, who had been elected Governor the previous fall, was chosen; Mr. Blaine having espoused his cause. In an editorial on his election, Mr. Blaine said:

"The great error of the Northern States has uniformly been, that they fail to continue their Senators and Representatives in Congress, for a sufficiently long period, to become thoroughly conversant with legislative proceedings and to build up that personal influence and weight which avail so much in the defeat or success of every measure that comes before Congress."

Judge Davis had been removed from the Supreme Bench for purely political reasons, by Samuel Wells, Democratic Governor. The columns of Mr. Blaine's paper teemed with the defense of the purity of the Judiciary and, indeed, made it one of the issues that insured the Republican success. Speaking of Judge Davis' removal, Mr. Blaine said: When the decision of the U.S.S Dred Scott case was announced, Blai

"Whither do all these things ten permanently subdued people? We as the last turns on the screws of de the mighty uprising and triumph of has got to the farthest limits of its p. Henceforth it must lose in the gree waging against freedom. The day of the slaveholders have left the freen other resort but revolution—a revolution to be no other, only through the the press, of public opinion, of religions. These aided by time, and the inlation, at no distant day, will give of the government, and regain to no has been lost by Southern cupidity and

Of course his active promotion of Republican party and his zeal in its procalled its attention to him. Being a journal, and published also at the cap Republican Legislature made it the style of logic, evinced the highest intellectual discipline and rendered him a foeman whose lance was as formidable for offensive war as his armor was for defence. His industry was intense, and he possessed the true editorial instinct of acquiring whatever was calculated to make his paper newsy and keep himself and readers abreast of the times. His clear, strong, trenchant style was as conspicuous then as in after life. Of a proposed visit of Mr. Clay to Augusta he wrote:

"Mr. Clay stands in the front rank of the opponents of slavery, and has reached that position, not with the applause of friends and cheers of approbation from the crowd, but with the loss of good name at home and the sundering of many personal ties, and even more, with im minent peril to life and limb. He braves it all unquailed though, for he is a man of true moral heroism and undaunted personal bravery. When he first assumed his anti-slavery position in Kentucky, they tried to bribe him with office and place. The Whigs offered him the Lieutenant-Governorship, and then a seat in Congress as Representative, with the reversion of John J. Crittenden's Senatorial chair. But he scorned their offers, for he was earnest and conscientious in his opposition to slavery. They next tried force and mobbed his printing office and carried off his press to Cincinnati, like brave men, while Clay was confined to his room with serious illness; and when all these demonstrations were ineffectual, they resorted to personal violence and hired assassins to seek his blood-but all in vain; he has conquered even in Kentucky, and is stronger this day than at any other time of his life."

It did not need Mr. Clay's impassioned eloquence to arouse the young Kennebec editor to a proper sense of the great issue then forcing itself on the country. Upon the subject of "Slavery in Indiana" he thus raised his eloquent voice:

"It is not to be wondered at that a Legislature which would send John Pettit to the United States Senate would perform any other mean act which a dishonest cupidity might instigate or suggest. Accordingly it was reserved for that same honorable body to enact a law in regard to the colored citizens of their State, most oppressive in its daily operations, and most disgraceful from the motives and reasons which induced its passage."

The following account of a recent case under the law, clipped from an exchange, will briefly explain its operation and the odious construction by which it is sustained:

"A colored man in Indiana lately brought suit before a magistrate against the Jeffersonville Railroad Company because they refused to admit him to the cars as a passenger until he produced evidence of his freedom. The justice awarded him twenty dollars damages, but the company appealed to the Circuit Court of Clarke county, and a few days ago the decision was reversed. The court (which is a free State tribunal) held, although the legal presumption is that all persons are free, yet the fact being that some colored persons are not free, it is reasonable that the matter should be settled in each case at the time the colored person applies for his seat."

"Could any argument, pretending to the dignity of a ground for legal decision, be more shallow or more disgraceful? Admitting, as the judge does, that freedom must be the presumed state of every man, he offsets all advantages arising from that presumption by adding that as some colored persons are not free, it is reasonable that the matter should be settled in each case. What is the

presumption worth if it must be sustained every time by positive evidence?

"Such legislation is in strong contrast with the course pursued by the Ohio Legislature in 1847, when the subject of granting to a company the right to construct a bridge across the Ohio river, at Cincinnati, came before them. The Kentucky Legislature, from whom the right had been obtained, so far as they could grant it, had cumbered the charter with such restrictions in regard to colored people as made the Cincinnati company and al their agents regular slave-catchers. But one honorable course was left to the Ohio Legislature, and they followed it manfully. They refused the charter and reprobated in strong terms, expressed in special resolution, any act that would so far compromise the honor and dignity of a great free State. Would that their example had made a deeper impression on their neighbors of Indiana. But we confess that we expect little from that free State which will keep in the Senate of the United States a notorious slaveholder, Jesse D. Bright, and a still more notorious blackguard, John Pettit. We are really afraid that their repudiation of the Nebraska treachery was only a spasmodic effort, to be followed by a lethargic supineness more fatal than actual wrong-doing.

In the same issue of the Journal he discussed, under the title of "The Permanency of the Republican Party," the influences that irresistibly led to the formation of the Republican party, and with almost prophetic eye he foretold what that party was destined to accomplish and for which it was manifestly fit. He said:

"The whole history of parties and opinions in the United States conclusively demonstrate that they are of slow growth, and the result of much toilsome effort and patient seed-growing. From the adoption of the American Constitution in 1789 to 1801 the same class of political opinions were predominant in this government, and Washington and the elder Adams were their exponents. Then there was a revolution, and the Jeffersonian class was inaugurated and continued more than twenty-five years, till the opposition completely died out. Then in 1829 the dynasty of Andrew Jackson commenced, and with only slight deviations, has continued for about twenty-five years to the present time, till nearly every principle which was originated under his administration has become the settled and permanent judgment of the country and been incorporated into its history and practice. Time and experience have demonstrated their wisdom, or the elastic spirit of the American people has closed over their scars, and all opposition to them has gradually died out, and they have ceased to be issues of the present day. In the mean time, and extending back about twenty years, new issues have sprung up. Certain minds in the free States began to feel the overwhelming influence of slavery in the government and to behold the disproportionate power it wielded in the election and appointment of the highest officers in the gift of the people, and were alarmed at it. They began to raise their voices of remonstrance against it through the press, the pulpit, and forum. It was but a small beginning, but the men who conceived the anti-slavery enterprise were not to be daunted by the vastness of the evil they had attacked or the sneers and opprobrium that were heaped upon them, but with firm hearts and unquailing faith they toiled on, in the morning sowing the seed and at evening withholding not their hand. At first they used only the power of argument and facts, but by and by the time came to carry this question to the ballot-box and to wield

its omnipotence to advance their cause. This was in 1840. And thence taking a new impulse, the movement went on, growing little by little by small accretions as the coral builds its mighty reefs, till the anti-slavery sentiment had permeated and filled every vein and artery, and incorporated itself into the whole moral constitution of the free States. While this process was advancing on the one hand, the slave power-as if to illustrate the principle of the ancients, " whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad "-became, on the other hand, more and more desperate in its demand, and, by the aid of Northern subserviency, pushed its schemes of subjugation from conquest to conquest over the rights and equalities of the North till at last they culminated in the Nebraska act, that measure of stupendous wrong and perfidy. Then it was that all the anti-slavery seeds which twenty years of toil, sacrifice, and patience had disseminated through the public mind burst out into an irrepressible flame. The people had restrained these sentiments for a long time, in hopes that the evil would cease without violent remedies. They had endured the compromise of 1850, bitter as it was, the infamous fugitive slave act, and all; but at last endurance had ceased to be a virtue, and they could endure no longer. They could no longer smother the flame of liberty that was burning in their breasts, and that, as the Mercury says, "arises from the deepest-rooted feelings and principles" of their natures, and can never' go back any more than the water of Niagara, that has once plunged over the precipice, can go back. It must live in the hearts it now animates. Its growth has been slow-twenty long years; its decay will be equally slow. The great Republican party that has suddenly developed itself on the political theatre, embodying the anti-slavery sentiment of the country as its leading characteristic,

when considered in its natural elements, in its history and progress, or in the light of experience, has every appearance of permanency and progress."

At New Year, 1855, Mr. Joseph Baker, having tired of the business management of the Journal and desiring to prosecute his other business enterprises, sold his share of the paper to Mr. John L. Stephens, with whom Mr. Blaine immediately formed a partnership. In the issue of the 5th of January of that year the new proprietors announced the change and printed their pledges. Over their signatures they stated that the Journal would be "devoted honestly and wisely to the great cause of Republicanism, advocating those particulars of freedom and temperance upon which the good of the people and the best hopes of the State so essentially depend. With what ability or what success we may labor we shall leave others to judge—we can only pledge honest impulses and faithful endeavors."

Mr. Blaine continued in the editorial chair as before, and undertook the reporting of the proceedings of the Senate of Maine for the tri-weekly issue of the Journal. In these reports his faculty of writing and condensing were as manifest as in his editorials. He was cognizant of everything that was transpiring in the Legislature, and had a complete mastery of all its details. He seemed to have a clear appreciation and understanding of financial questions and business enterprises, of the practical details of a printing establishment, of railroads, banks, manufacturing and agriculture. He never released his hold upon the editorial pen. The rapidly following events of the times gave him great scope. Everything bore on politics, and from the torrent of living English which he poured out at that time we take a bright spray from his

issue of February 14, 1855. The head-line is "William H. Seward," and Editor Blaine says:

"The prayer of the freemen is answered. A question of the highest importance, the right decision of which for months has excited the deepest solicitude, has been solved to the joy of patriotic Americans and for the welfare of the public. By the force of his own character as a man and a statesman, and of the moral and political principles which he represented and in him centred, William H. Seward has been re-elected to the American Senate by the State which in her earlier days gave the nation a Clinton, a Livingston, a Jay, a Hamilton, and which now with her population, her resources and strength increased twenty-fold, bears up in her arms freedom's great leader against traitors at home and storms of relentless opposition from abroad. The heart of the nation throbs at the event which, amid exultation and congratulations, lightning and steam are announcing to the true men of this whole continent and of the civilized world. The contest through which he has passed is without parallel in the history of this country. We have waited until the clouds of the conflict were passing away and the cannon of rejoicing had ceased, to express our exultant gratitude at the event to which we have looked forward with the strongest hope and in regard to which, for a brief hour, we had fears. It was our fortune to be in New York City last October when the Ulman Convention had its session. Mingling, quietly with the throngs that crowded the hotels from all parts of the Empire State, we learned much of the real purpose of the men who controlled the deliberations and plans of that Convention. We became satisisfied that the guiding purpose of the combinations there made was not for love of American principles, not reform

in the naturalization laws, but the defeat of Myron H. Clark, and through that result the political annihilation of William H. Seward. Hards, Softs, and Silver Grays joined hands, with nothing else to unite them but indifference to freedom and a common hatred of its leading champion. We saw that the influence of tens of thousands of good men was to be converted to uses foreign to true American principles, and, if successful, disastrous to the position which New York holds among her sister States, in respect to that great issue now before us, whether freedom or slavery shall rule the destiny of this nation.

Reviewing the field we saw that nothing but Mr. Seward's naked strength and the devotion of the people of the Empire State to him and to his principles could rescue him from the combined array against him. We watched the contest with the deepest solicitude. Four months have passed. The coalition of wickedness culminated. The battle is over. The great American statesman is unscathed, and now occupies a prouder elevation before his countrymen than ever before, and a serener and broader future is securely his. Never since the establishment of the Republic has there been a greater necessity for a leading statesman of far-seeing vision, of heroic, unyielding will, of courage that no threat of danger can blanch, of genius to organize and guide. God's necessity in the affairs of men is always realized in history. We trust the friends of Mr. Seward will not misunderstand the cause and the meaning of his triumph. His election is not the success or the defeat of the old political organizations. His bitterest and ablest foes are among those who claim to belong to the party with which he labored from its formation to the hour of its final overthrow. Many of his ablest and most devoted friends



MRS. JAMES G. BLAINE.

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and supporters have belonged to the Democratic party. In reality his election has been secured by that party which has been gathering numbers and strength from all former organizations, which has arisen a young giant, soon to be the Hercules to drive the monsters from the national capital and trample under its feet the serpent and vipers which have alarmed and bitten the sons of liberty and poisoned and checked the growth of the best plants of American civilization. Not as the champion of an effete and a rapidly dissolving party, but as a great statesman and sworn defender of freedom and the Union he finds congenial fellowship with Chase, Sumner, Wade, Fessenden, Hamlin, King, Johnson, Wilson, Strong, Hall, Durkee and that whole school of vigorous and determined men of common blood and aim, who are by the will of God and the people to make it historical fact, ere 1860, that slavery is sectional and temporary, that freedom is national and universal, and that American principles shall rule to the exclusion of ideas and elements which had their birth amid the feudal institutions and the despotism of the old world."

Turning from this expression of his high-wrought feelings, Mr. Blaine employed the power of his sarcasm in an editorial entitled "Close of Congress," which graced the Journal of March 7, of this same year. Every reader will greet it with a smile of recognition as it is brought to mind how often the same sentiment has been voiced since that day.

"The first days of March have been auspicious, bt alone as indicating a pleasant spring and a favorable season for the husbandman, but they come loaded with idential blessings to the American people in that hey give

anga and solemn trusts men so w cation, true patriotism and elevated ity of that body has shown itselfyond their power longer to disgrad corruptions, their reckless audacity, against liberty and the broadest and Union. If the people of England when Oliver Cromwell drove the run doors and told its members to begon much more should the citizens of f their pleasure that time in its long put an end to the power of the me

solemn compacts, struck down the sac lished by the fathers of the Republic government of the country to the pri a despotism worthy of Rome in he Congress that passed the Kansas an gave so many proofs of a want of ele the one just terminated, would have h monarch or surrender the Republic fo rounded by circumstances and pressed the exchange. How much of infamy isting National Administration we ne

Enough and doule

deeps to which its present animus and impetus would carry it. But our remarks now respect the termination of the Thirty-third Congress. Only of that can we say our sorrows are past. How many and deep these sorrowshow much the nation has lost by the littleness and want of political justice and true statesmanship on the part of the controlling majority of the Congress just closed, posterity and the future historian alone can tell. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. Our hope for the future is that the evil will cure itself; that the wickedness has culminated and the reaction is fast bringing the control of the nation into purer and stronger hands. Did we not so hope, we should regard the days of the Republic numbered. For such utter defiance of the laws of humanity; such prostitution of solemn trust and opportunities; such open and unblushing violations of the spirit and intent of our American institutions, unless arrested by the might of the people's will and the strong arms of patriotic statesmen, must end in the nation's night and desolation. In speaking as we have of the majority of Congress just passed from power, of course we design no reflection on those true men who have stood up manfully against threats and bribes in the defense of the Constitution and the laws; sacred engagements and the assaulted and scouted principles of liberty and humanity, on which the Republic is based, and in love of which only it can endure. All praise to that noble band whose names we need not call. The nation will remember them. An approving constituency will receive them warmly to their homes and give them the meed of approbation for labors well performed and solemn trusts faithfully held."

A week previously, the young editor, who had already won his spurs, and whose utterances were waited for with considerable impatience and sometimes no little fear, had given in mosaic, a picture of the start of the Republican party in Maine on its really first great race. Mr. Blaine said:

"It can no longer be questioned that we have in Maine a well-organized and powerful party, which shares the sympathies and influence of a decided majority of the people. That radical and permanent causes have been operating for years to bring about the present condition of things, is so well known as to need no repetition. Ignored and resisted, as those causes were, by selfish schemers, personal aims, and the force of old party watch-words. they increased yearly in breadth and strength, until they have become one resistless current of public opinion, fed by the various springs of moral and patriotic feelings, which are so fresh and healthful in the social soil of Maine. on which the ship of State is fairly launched, with the flags of Temperance, Freedom, and American enterprise waving proudly at the mast-head. The Republican party. therefore, is not the creation of a few individuals, or the result of tactics; it is the production of moral ideas which have vegetated in the consciences and hearts of the people. It is pre-eminently the child of ideas and of the people. Strong as these ideas and their friends had shown themselves in the political efforts of the two or three years past, old political organizations had prevented the union of men of like principles in one well-organized party. The men were called by different names, yet they had a common faith and common purposes. Their principle needed expression in a common platform. The people desired one political family and one organization. Right, expediency, and necessity called for a Convention. What time more opportune and appropriate than the birthday of

Washington! So ready were the people for action, so manifest the necessity, that a long notice was not required. The Convention of the Twenty-second was one of the most remarkable and interesting that ever assembled in our State. The numbers in attendance were very largenot less than nine or ten hundred. It was composed of the true and influential portion of the people from all parts of the State. Its members came in due proportion from all the former political parties, in names of longestablished reputation and worth, known in the State and out of it; in men possessing the confidence and representing the convictions of their respective vicinities, no political assemblage ever held in the State surpassed the one of last week. No body of man could be more united in opinion and resolution. The enthusiasm manifested was not a sudden and transitory faeling, but was the result of a calm, yet intense conviction that a new era had arrived in the politics of the State and the Nation, that high and solemn duties are now devolving on our citizens. The resolutions and the speeches indicated the spirit and the purpose of the Republican party. As to the principles of the platform, expressed by the Resolutions, we trust they will meet the warment approval of all true Republicans. They are shouly in consounce with our position as the people of a Free State. with our constitutional rights and our relations to the Union. They reougnize the laws of God, Liberty and Humanity, as above, yet not in conflict, but in harmony with the laws of the State and all allowable have of the Nation. They demand that the people, and not the three hundred and fifty thousand nobles, shall control the thoueriment of the country. They demand that the foodom, intelligence mont interests enterprise, labor and proporty of dwenty millions of citizens shall be the controlling

force of the Government, instead of an audacious, haughty, and demoralizing class who constitute less than one-sixtieth of the nation."

The warfare that Mr. Blaine was waging against slavery in any and every form never knew a moment's cessation; every issue of his paper contained many biting allusions to the history that was then making. The troubles of bleeding Kansas were a continuous inspiration to his caustic pen.

We have not space to follow Mr. Blaine's career as an editor any further. He wrote so much and wrote so well that the difficulty is not what to insert as matter of history, but what to leave out. We have, however, sampled fairly his style and the nervous force of his diction, no less than the directness of his attack and the earnestness of his purpose.

In October, 1857, Blaine disposed of his interest in the Kennebec Journal to John S. Sayward, of Bangor, Me., and accepted a more lucrative and influential position on the Portland Daily Advertiser. His three years of editorial life had brought him warm friends and laid the ground work of a permanent reputation. He was moral, economical, indefatigable and generous. As a citizen and social companion he was welcome in any circle. Those who had daily intercourse with him have abundantly testified to the exalted place he occupied in their affections and in the community of which he was so distinguished a part and which he delighted to serve. In a private letter, the late Governor Kent, of Maine, thus speaks of him: "Almost from the day of his assuming editorial charge of the Kennebec Journal, at the early age of twenty-three, Mr. Blaine sprang into a position of great influence in the political policy of Maine. At twenty-five he was a leading power in the councils of the Republican party, so recognized by Fessenden, Hamlin, the two Morrills and others then and still prominent in the State. Before he was twenty-nine, he was chosen chairman of the Executive Committee of the Republican organization in Maine -a position he has held ever since, and from which he has practically shaped and directed every political campaign in the State-always leading his party to brilliant victory. Had Mr. Blaine been New England born, he would probably not have received such rapid advancement at so early an age, even with the same ability he possessed. But there was a sort of Western dash about him that took with us Down Easters; an expression of frankness and candor and confidence that gave him from the very start a strong and permanent hold on our people and, as the foundation of all, a pure character and a masterly ability equal to all demands upon him."

Mr. Blaine drew up the first platform adopted by the Republicans of Maine, in 1854, and in asking for its ratification before the State Convention, thus burned his bridges

and cast the past behind him :-

"Sink or swim;" therefore, as old John Adam's said, "live or die, survive or perish," we give our hands and our hearts to this great Republican movement. We cannot be content to sit down and hug the fossil remains of dead issues. Let the dead bury the dead. We live for the present and the future. We grasp the living issues—the duties of to-day. When the voice of our country calls us, when the bugle note of liberty from every hill and valley, from the East, the West, the North, the South, is summoning its friends to the glorious contest, let traitors flee to the enemy where they belong, and cowards seek refuge under the shadow of the dead past; but as for us, we will obey the call; nor can we stop to

ask who is our leader, or who stand by our side, or what uniform they wear or weapons they use, if they are gallantly battling for the right. No, we will help fight this battle. We will help bear the glorious banners of Republican liberty on to victory, till our government is completely and forever divorced from slavery and wielded "to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

It was the bold and forcible expression of such opin-

ions through his paper and on the rostrum that prepared Blaine for his early entry into political life and paved the way for his predominence in the future political campaigns in Maine. He never swerved for a moment from his exalted principles and never spared his time and talent in order to incorporate them into the new party which was rising like a giant to grapple with one of the most urgent problems of our civilization. His zeal, ability and eloquence were conspicuous factors in formulating the measures which were to give his party that hold it obtained on the public conscience and its splendid train of victories. In the year 1860, Mr. Blaine returned temporarily to the editorship of the Kennebec Journal, its regular editor being ill. This concluded his active journalistic career, a career of but six years duration yet sufficient to establish a reputation as writer, thinker and natural leader second to no journalist of his day. In these six years he had carved for himself a permanent place in his community and State and had laid strong and deep the ground work of a fame which was soon to become national. His retirement from journalism was a promotion to the larger and perhaps more seductive field of politics for which he had already

shown exalted qualities. What journalism lost in the shape of a brilliantly equipped and masterly editor the nation gained in the form of one of its most magnetic,

popular and able statesmen. The seed he had sown with pen would bear fruit in State and County, and the taste thereof would be fame unexcelled by living compeer.

But nothing can be said more accurately of Mr. Blaine's editorial career nor of the man as then developed, than has been said by one of his associates in business, the Hon. J. L. Stevens, partner with him in the publication of the Kennebec Journal. He thus writes of him :- "His gifts as an orator and his generous and magnetic qualities rapidly made him known to the entire people of the State. He had a remarkable faculty of attaching men to him. He always remembered the face of a man whom he had once met, and in a brief period he knew the active men from all sections of the commonwealth. The men whose names he had once heard and whose faces he had once seen were always quickly recognized in subsequent years whenever he chanced to meet them. In this regard as well as his remembrance of all the salient political and historical facts, he exhibited remarkable qualities, strikingly illustrated throughout his public life. When the Free-State men of Kansas were struggling against the border ruffians of Missouri, agents of the former State came to New England, in 1855, for pecuniary aid and sympathy. Mr. Blaine was one of those who contributed, giving to the extent of his means and co-operating in obtaining other aid in Augusta. He was always kindhearted and generous to the men in our employ. He was always liberal to the extent of his means and sympathetic toward all just objects of charity. When young, while a man somewhat impulsive and ardent, he was always very careful and prudent in decision, and his impulses were under complete control. Like all public men who have been conspicuous in politics for many years, he has necessarily some enemies, but fewer than most men have. Ever

a firm adherent to the Republican party and its principles, he is catholic toward all, generous to his opponents, has few animosities, and forgets them sooner than most public men. From my earliest acquaintance with him he seemed to me to have precisely those qualities which make a popular and successful leader.

"As a candidate he has always been stronger than his, party. I consider him one of the most remarkable men in the country, and that he has few peers as a political leader and statesman on either side of the Atlantic. The bitterness with which he has often been attacked by partisan editors and political rivals has less foundation than any like case with which I am acquainted. The Mr. Blaine which they represent with so many expletives and such violent rhetoric is a person entirely unlike the Mr. Blaine known to his townsmen, his acquaintances and his friends. It is a Mr. Blaine that has no real existence."

CHAPTER V.

IN THE MAINE LEGISLATURE.

As already intimated the entry of James G. Blaine into politics was but natural. If a born editor, he was no less a born politician. There had been a grave political departure from old methods and lines of thought. The formative period of a new party was on, and had to be passed through. The craft when launched had to be manned and navigated. Here was grand opportunity for the vigor and pertinacity of youth, sublime occupation for genius, glowing promise for ambition. It would have been almost impossible for a man of Blaine's organization to escape the enthusiasm inspired by the situation. His youth, his talent, his being, as it were, fitted exactly in with the demands of the hour, and the crisis in turn demanded just such energies as he possessed. To be silent and inert was not to be himself. And no common place would do. He thought, he acted, vigorously, persistently, therefore he led, broadening the plain for his forces as he sped along at the head of victorious columns.

He entered the public arena while yet an editor, and as a delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1856, though he had previously served as secretary of a Republican mass meeting in Augusta, and had participated in some of the initial conventions of the party in the State. In that National Convention, in which John C. Fremont was nominated as Presidential candidate, he was one of the secretaries, and upon his return home found himself

called upon to deliver a speech at a ratification meeting. He was but twenty-six years old, and as yet unused to facing large public audiences. We can best describe the situation in the language of an eye witness:—

"At that time he had exhibited all the qualifications of an orator, but had never ventured upon the public platform. He seemed to have a strong fear of addressing a public audience, and it was only after much persuasion that he consented, on this occasion, to speak. When he arose to his feet he was in such a state of perturbation and embarrassment that it was some time before he was able to command himself so as to begin to talk. From the moment he got possession of his voice he continued, and made one of the finest speeches he ever made in his life."

And another writer, also an eye witness, describes the situation more in detail:—

"Among the interesting earlier incidents of Mr. Blaine's political career, was his election as a delegate from the third Congressional district to the first Republican National Convention, in June, 1856, which nominated Gen. John C. Freemont to the Presidency. Upon his return from the convention a ratification meeting was held in Meonian Hall, Augusta, and upon the urgent insistence of some of his personal friends he was persuaded, reluctantly, to appear upon the platform and make report of the doings of the Convention. This was his first public effort. He was then twenty-six years of age. Although remarkably ready and easy of speech and holding a practiced and powerful pen, he had an almost unconquerable repugnance to letting his voice be heard, except in familiar conversation where his brilliant powers of statement and argument, his marvelous memory of dates and events in political history, and his acquaintance with, and keen

estimate of the public men and parties of the day, were the delight and wonder of all who listened to him. The writer well recalls the trepidation, at once painful and ludicrous, with which he rose to address the meeting. In confronting the sea of faces, almost every one of whom was known to him, he seemed to be struggling to master the terror that possessed him. He turned pale and red by turns, and almost tottering to the front, stood trembling until the generous applause which welcomed him had died away, when, by supreme effort he broke the spell, at first by the utterance of some hesitating words of greeting and thanks, and then gathering confidence, went on with a speech which stirred the audience as with the sound of a trumpet, and held all present in breathless interest and attention to its close. From that moment Mr. Blaine took rank among the most effective popular speakers of the day; but it may be doubted if among the many maturer efforts of his genius and eloquence upon the political platform or in the legislative tribune, he has ever excited an audience to a more passionate enthusiasm or left a profounder impression upon the minds and hearts of his hearers."

Mr. Blaine's speech upon this occasion is such a valuable contribution to the political literature of the day, and is so important as showing his command of history and his method of thought, that his biography would be incomplete without it. We therefore give it in full. It was delivered in Litchfield, Me., June 28, 1856, and the theme was:

"NOMINATION OF FREEMONT FOR PRESIDENT."

FELLOW-CITIZENS,--The Republican party is a new political organization. It is not yet two years old. Its

first small meetings were held late in the summer of 1854. when the name was adopted, and the party organized on the one great principle of resisting the spread of slavery into the Territories of the United States. The new party had its origin in the deep and abiding conviction on the part of the opponents of slavery that the propagandists of the South cannot be trusted upon any adjustment or upon any agreement. Pressed hard by opposition, to-day, they will agree to a compromise; and, to-morrow, if they see opportunity for fresh aggression, they will disregard it and trample upon it. The two great compromises on the subject of slavery were that which established the geographical line of 36° 30' in the year 1820, known as the Missouri Compromise, and that which was enacted thirty years later and is known as the Compromise of 1850. At both junctures, the potent agency that wrought on behalf of the South was the fear that the Union might be dissolved. That was the threat of Southern leaders; it was the conclusive argument that induced Northern men to vield. But in 1854 the Missouri Compromise was repealed, and, with it, the Compromise of 1850 was put under foot. The division line (by which it was agreed that freedom should have sway north of it and slavery should permissively exist south of it) was destroyed, after thirty-four years of honorable observance on both sides.

"The destruction of the Whig party was one of the immediate results of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, because the Northern Whigs were largely antislavery in feeling, and could not be held in co-operation with a party whose Southern members had broken faith in their zeal for the spread of slavery. A large number of Northern Democrats were equally resolved not to stand by their old party. These two great bodies, joining

with the old Free-soil and Liberty party, are the elements that have coalesced and become unified within the ranks of the Republican party. I think it is not boastful to say that in the character of the men who lead this party and of the vast number who compose it, that in its growth, in its zeal, in its unselfish devotion to a single great issue, it is unprecedented, if not phenomenal. It has grown so rapidly that it is in the National field with full strength and with organization-courageous enough to enter the fight, with the conscience and the nerve to accept defeat and prepare for another battle. Its members are not to be put down by the cry of sectionalism or frightened by the threat of disunion. Certainly no member of the Republican party underates the value of the Union of the States, or would hesitate at any sacrifice to preserve it, except the sacrifice of honor, or the sacrifice of that freedom which the Union was established to preserve. But we do not contemplate the dissolution of the Union as a possibility; and certainly no sane man believes that a great body of States, bound together in mutual interest and cemented by a thousand ties, can be torn asunder so readily and so easily as the flippant threats of the Southern extremists would imply.

"The Republican party, therefore, will march forward in the line of duty, and will try to engraft its principles upon the government of the country. They have no purpose to interfere with slavery in the States; they have no purpose to interfere with slavery anywhere, except to the extent that Thomas Jefferson and the Fathers of the Republic interfered with it when they excluded it from free territory. If, indirectly, that policy interfers with slavery in the States, we are not responsible. Certainly the great evil of slavery, wherever it exists, is not to be countenanced and upheld by sub-

jecting other communities and other territory to a like curse. I have no doubt that the great majority of the Republican party would interfere with slavery in the States, if they considered that they had the Constitutional right to do so; but they will not violate their oaths to observe the Constitution, and they will not strain their consciences to make that seem right which the plain letter of the law forbids. But they believe that their right to exclude slavery from the free Territories is just as clear as their inability to interfere with it in the States; and on that single point, great and farreaching in its effects, we challenge the Democratic party of the South and of the North to a contest for the government of the country.

"The first National Convention of the Republican party has lately been held in Philadelphia, and this Congressional District did me the honor to send me as one of its delegates to that remarkable assemblage. I am sure that I shall be expected by you, as my constituents, to make some report of what was said and done there, and especially what was done by the Maine delegation. The daily journals have given you the details of the proceedings, and I content myself with some general observations on the character of the Convention -its personal character, if I may use the phrase. the various delegations that composed the Convention, in the sacred cause which it assembled to uphold, and in the work which it accomplished, it will fairly rank as one of the most significant and important political conventions ever held in the United States. A marked feature was the large proportion of young men among its members, and in the general tendency to select that class I can find the only cause for conferring upon me the distinction of membership in such a body.



PHILADELPHIA BLIND ASYLUM.

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"It was scarcely to be expected that such an assemblage of men, many of them marked by individuality, and all of them possessing independence of thought and action, should, without some difference of view, reach a general unanimity of conclusion. The drift of events for some months before the Convention met was toward the nomination of Colonel Frémont for the Presidency, and I believe he received a unanimous vote of the delegates from every State in New England, except Maine. Among our delegates there was a friendly and sincere difference of view, which separated us into nearly equal parts,-thirteen preferring Colonel Frémont, and eleven giving their votes on the first or informal ballot for Judge McLean of Ohio. I was one of the eleven. I did not act from any spirit of opposition to Colonel Frémont. My preference for Judge McLean was in large degree based upon admiration of his high character, but partly upon an inherited friendship for him, partly from a kinship of feeling with his conservatism, and partly, I suppose, because the Whig instincts which I share with the great majority of this district turned me toward one who had so long been among the trusted statesmen and soundest advisers of that party. But it would be unfair to say that Whig or anti-Whig traditions had much to do with the division, for the two most eminent members of our delegation, Ex-Governor Edward Kent and Ex-Governor Anson P. Morrill, the one formerly an earnest Whig and the other a radical Democrat, united in favor of nominating Judge McLean.

"The sense of the Convention was, however, strongly in favor of taking Colonel Frémont, the first ballot showing 359 votes in his favor, to 196 votes for Judge McLean. The nomination was immediately declared to be unanimous, and was cheered as heartily by those who had supported Judge McLean as by those who had been the

original advocates of Colonel Frémont's nomination. The Presidential candidate being thus selected from the Pacific coast, it was at once regarded as probable that the second place on the ticket would be given to an Atlantic State, though the Mississippi Valley contended for it. A concentration was rapidly formed upon Mr. Dayton, long eminent as a Senator from New Jersey, though on the first ballot, as you already know, he did not receive a majority,-a considerable number of votes being given to different candidates. The leading competitor, who received a hundred and ten votes, was Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, who, ten years ago, served a single term in Congress, and who has lately gained reputation beyond the lines of his own State by the ability with which he has reviewed Senator Douglas for his course in securing the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Some of the Illinois delegates gave pledges, privately, that if Lincoln were nominated for Vice-President the ticket would receive the electoral vote of Illinois, -thus defeating Douglas in his own State. But the tendency toward an Eastern candidate was too strong to be arrested.

"The three parties are now before the country with their candidates, and there is something remarkable in the political antecedents of the gentlemen on each ticket. Colonel Frémont, who is now adopted by the Republican party, which includes the old Abolitionists, the antislavery Democrats and the great majority of the Whigs of the North, is a native of South Carolina, reared in the doctrines of Calhoun, called to the civil service under President Jackson, appointed to the army by President Van Buren, and married to a daughter of Colonel Benton. With Southern birth and all these Democratic traditions and connections, it is one of those singular revolutions, not altogether infrequent in American political

life, that makes him the candidate of the anti-slavery party of the North.

"Mr. Buchanan, who is the Democratic candidate, was one of the most pronounced of the old Federalists, and has hitherto found his early record a stumbling-block to his political advancement. Since he joined the Democratic party he has continually striven to efface his record as a Federalist and especially the memory of his hostility to the Administration of Mr. Madison. He has offered among other disproofs, the fact that in the war of 1812 he joined a military company and marched to the relief of Baltimore when menaced by British invaders. The hostile force had left before he arrived. This attempt at establishing a military record was much impaired by a humorous interruption by Mr. Clay upon a certain occasion in the Senate, when he asked Mr. Buchanan whether in the war of 1812 the British had retired from Baltimore because he was advancing upon it, or whether he had advanced upon Baltimore because he knew the British had retired?-Mr. Breckinridge, his associate, comes from an old Whig family long resident in Kentucky, his father and grandfather both being supporters of Mr. Clay. So that the Democratic ticket really contains no candidate that was originally Democratic.

"The American party, as the Know-Nothings now style themselves, have selected Mr. Fillmore, placed him upon a pro-slavery platform, and associated with him on the ticket A. J. Donelson of Tennessee, the adopted nephew of General Jackson and the inheritor of his principles. Mr. Fillmore was originally an anti-slavery Whig, a member of the anti-masonic party, and entered Congress midway in General Jackson's administration, toward which he always held the position of an implacable opponent. Throughout his Congressional career he was

distinguished by his continual resistance to the advances of the slave-power, being through all these years fully abreast with Mr. Seward, who at that time represented the party at home. When he succeeded to the Presidency, after General Taylor's death, six years ago, Mr. Fillmore went over to the South, favored the Compromise bills and approved the Fugitive-slave Law, the most cruel enactment that ever was placed upon the statute-book of the United States. It is this which has associated him with an old Southern Democrat closely identified with General Jackson, and has made him the candidate of the Southern men who cannot support Mr. Buchanan.

"It is a singular combination that gives to each party in the contest a candidate whose early associations and whose early political views were in absolute conflict with the early views and associations of the men who are now supporting him. But the advantage which the Republican party has in this regard is that Colonel Frémont, in his early life, had no political record of any kind, but was engaged as an engineer, a soldier, a pioneer and an explorer until the opening of the great era which led to our acquisitions of territory from Mexico. He came from California as a Senator six years ago, associated with one of the extremest Southern Democrats,-William M. Gwin, -but he came as the representative of a free State not vet infected by the presence of a slave,-a free State that broke the equality of representation in the Senate between North and South which the Southern Democrats, under Mr. Calhoun's lead, had demanded as the protection of the institution of Slavery. As long as the South could hold half of the Senate, no anti-slavery measure could be enacted. That spell was broken by the admission of California; and but for Frémont's relationship to Benton and the interest which the distinguished Missouri

senator was thereby induced to take in the fate of California, the Golden State might not have been able to come in, without ruinous exactions and conditions imposed by the South. But for the action of Colonel Benton the Democratic party would have been practically consolidated against the admission of California to the Union until a slave State could be organized to offset her influence on all questions affecting the interests of the South. His course will be adjudged as eminently wise and patriotic whatever motive many have originally inspired it. But it cost him his standing and influence in the Democratic party and ended his senatorial life. He served in the last Congress as representative from the St. Louis district, and soon found himself again in rank antagonism with his old party in its leading measure,—the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

"Frémont was the herald, therefore, of a new political era in the nation; and without realizing it himself he became the embodiment of the Republican policy which declared that the National Territories shall be kept free from the curse of slavery. The battle between free institutions and slave institutions is now in actual progress in the Territory of Kansas, and will be fought there to the bitter end. Mr. Buchanan represents the pro-slavery side of that contest, Colonel Frémont represents the antislavery side, while Mr. Fillmore, evading a declaration on the question, is, so far as he has political strength, odecisively and most effectively on the side of the South.

"This is not the fight of the old Abolitionists, the night being practical and sensible men those radical disciplates of Freedom are joining heart and hand with the supp a orters of Fremont. As I have already intimated the Reputliblican party is not pledged to the removal of slavery for prom the District of Columbia, nor to the destruction of there inter-

state slave-trade, nor even to the repeal of that most infamous statute, the Fugutive-slave Law. The party is pledged simply and only to the policy of prohibiting the existence of slavery in all the Territories of the United States. In fact, the platform adopted by the Philadelphia Convention is confined to the one issue of freedom for the Territories, with a resolution added favoring the construction of the Pacific Railroad and another favoring liberal appropriations for the improvement of rivers and harbors. The issue, therefore, could not be more direct or more specific. Rarely, indeed, has it happened, in the complicated character of political questions, that any party was ever able to enter upon a popular canvass with an issue so plain, so well defined, so difficult to evade and so certain to enlist intelligent popular interest.

"The Republicans of Maine are resolved to join their brethren of other States in presenting the one great issue, separated from and unembarrassed by all other personal, political or moral considerations. The Democrats, who now hold the political power of the State for the first year since 1851-52, have repealed the Prohibitory Law and substituted a License Law. They have expected that such an issue thrown in the face of the Republicans, three-fourths of whom are Prohibitionists, might create division and confusion in their ranks at this time. The leading Prohibitionists, with Anson P. Morrill and Neal Dow at their head, are willing and in fact desirous of postponing the issue, so that we can have a clearly defined fight on National questions this year and a clean fight on Prohibition next year. The Democratic policy, therefore, though designed for distraction, will fail to discourage the Republican host, but will, rather, nerve it to the outlay of its full and combined strength.

"The Republican State Convention, which meets in a

few days, will settle all these issues, and then we shall march forward in solid column to the conquest of the State. The unanimous desire of the party is that Hannibal Hamlin shall be selected as our standard-bearer; and though Mr. Hamlin is reluctant to leave the Senate to become Governor, he must remember that the same power which can make him Governor can send him back to the Senate. Let us make the demand upon him unanimous and so imposing that he cannot decline our request. To that end let me urge that all the towns in Kennebec be represented at Portland with full delegations, on the 8th of next month. There is work to be done this year, and the old Whig county of Kennebec must do her full share. Maine will not lag behind in this contest for free territory. and the first duty in hand is to destroy the present Democratic supremacy in the State."

Of the importance of the Republican National Convention of 1856, which Mr. Blaine attended as a delegate from Maine, and of which he was one of the secretaries, much might be said. But the best description of it may be found in Mr. Blaine's own language and in his "Twenty Years in Congress." He says:—

"The Republican party had meanwhile been organizing and consolidating. During the years 1854 and 1855 it had acquired control of the governments in a majority of the free States, and it promptly called a national Convention to meet in Philadelphia, in June, 1856. The Democracy saw at once that a new and dangerous opponent was in the field—an opponent that stood upon principle and shunned expediency; that brought to its standard a great host of young men, and that won to its service a very large proportion of the talent, the courage, and the eloquence of the North. The Convention met for a purpose, and it spoke boldly. It accepted the issue as presented

by the men of the South, and it offered no compromise. In its ranks were all shades of anti-slavery opinion—the patient Abolitionist, the Free-Soiler of the Buffalo platform, the Democrats who had supported the Wilmot proviso, the Whigs who had followed Seward.

"There was no strife about candidates. Mr. Seward was the recognized head of the party, but he did not desire the nomination. He agreed with his faithful mentor, Thurlow Weed, that his time had not come, and that his sphere of duty was in the Senate. Salmon P. Chase was Governor of Ohio, waiting re-election to the Senate, and, like Seward, not anxious for a nomination where election was regarded as improbable if not impossible. The more conservative and timid section of the party advocated the nomination of Judge McLean, of the Supreme Court, who for many years had enjoyed a shadowy mention for the presidency in Whig journals of a certain type. But Judge McLean was old and the Republican party was young. He belonged to the past; the party was looking to the future. It demanded a more energetic and attractive candidate, and John C. Frémont was chosen on the first ballot. He was forty-three years of age, with a creditable record in the regular army, and wide fame as a scientific explorer in the Western mountain ranges, then the terra incognita of the continent. He was a native of South Carolina, and had married the brilliant and accomplished daughter of Col. Benton. Always a member of the Democratic party, he was so closely identified with the early settlement of California that he was elected one of her first Senators. To the tinge of romance in his history were added the attractions of a winning address and an auspicious name.

"The movement in his behalf had been quietly and effectively organized for several months preceding the Convention. It had been essentially aided, if not indeed originated, by the elder Francis P. Blair, who had the skill derived from long experience in political management. Mr. Blair was a devoted friend of Benton, had been intimate with Jackson and intensely hostile to Calhoun. As editor of the Globe, he had exercised wide influence during the Presidential terms of Jackson and Van Buren, but when Polk was inaugurated he was supplanted in administration confidence by Thomas Ritchie, of the State-Rights' school, who was brought from Virginia to found another paper. Mr. Blair was a firm Union man, and though he had never formally withdrawn from the Democratic party, he was now ready to leave it because of the disunion tendencies of its Southern leaders. He was a valuable friend to Frémont, and gave to him the full advantage of his experience and his sagacity.

Wm. L. Dayton, of New Jersey, who had served with distinction in the Senate, was selected for the Vice-Presidency. His principal competitor in the only ballot which was taken was Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois. This was the first time that Mr. Lincoln was conspicuously named outside of his own State. He had been a member of the Thirtieth Congress, 1847-9, but being a modest man he had so little forced himself into notice that when his name was proposed for Vice-President, inquiries as to who he was were heard from all parts of the Convention."

In the fall of 1858 Mr. Blaine was prevailed upon to run for membership in the lower House of the Maine Legislature, and as representative of the city of Augusta. It was only by persistent urging of his friends that he was induced to accept the nomination, owing to his mistrust of himself before an audience. He rarely appeared in public during his canvass, and his speeches were brief and fully prepared in advance. When elected, he began his legis-

and genius for debate and statesmans brilliant play. His first term assured h constituency were intelligent and foun served. He was re-elected for a third to out this and his fourth term, served lower House. He was now recognized leader, and he brought to the respon Speaker a complete knowledge of par The Rebellion had broken out and the ful. Master minds were required at th State and in the nation. Maine, at least, appointed. We again use, as the very bes the description of Mr. Blaine's legislati nished by one who lived close by him a closest of constituents. He writes :-entered political life in 1858, as repre Legislature from Augusta, at the age

years, the people here early recognizing leader. He entered this with great timition. One of the leaders of the party of the future great man one evening took and they walked the retired streets of the in regard to his candidacy. Mr. Blaine

of Congress, began in the Maine House. His newspaper experience gave him the valuable and ever available power of conciseness of thought. He never made a speech too long to be read, and never spoke longer than the people wanted to hear him.

"His first, great triumph in debate was won on the floor of the Maine House, in the winter of 1862, with Hon. E. K. Smart, of Camden, on a national question, when he held up Smart's Congressional career to show his wavering position. Many to this day who witnessed the remarkable scene, will remember the black book of fate (the Congressional Record), which Blaine held up to Smart's blanched face, and from which he quoted at will. From that beginning Blaine became the leader of his party in Maine, as Smart, who was afterwards Democratic candidate for Governor, and took the stump in his own behalf, had abundant reason to know.

"When Augusta was struggling to increase her population by adding to her manufactures, the issue was squarely made between the friends of progress, represented by the Republican party, and those who desired to keep Augusta a way-station, Mr. Blaine's powers were enlisted at once, as they could always be depended upon in a local emergency. At one of the largest meetings ever held at Granite Hall, he delivered a speech, burdened with statistics, showing great familiarity with the city's finances and entire municipal affairs, as well as familiarity with the success of manufactures elsewhere.

"That speech, so full of statistical matter, was prepared the day previous, the original manuscript put into the printer's hands for 'copy,' and the speech delivered entirely from memory. He has often told me that a figure, or cluster of figures, fixed in his mind, are there forever. It is needless to say, this measure was carried. "This very last season the question came up whether a fixed valuation should be placed upon the property of the largest manufacturing company in our midst—the real issue being, whether a liberal policy should continue it here, or a penurious one drive it away. Mr. Blaine was at home resting. The hearts of the people again turned toward him in a contest that appeared extremely close, and which greatly excited the people. Attention to national affairs had not disengaged his mind from local interests, and in a speech which fairly electrified the vast audience, he carried his point, and saved to the city its controlling manufacturing interest.

"Mr. Blaine's popularity in Augusta is not altogether because of his National reputation, but of his real, practical work and usefulness as a citizen. He has bridged over

many difficulties with his great ability.

"Mr. Blaine delights in the excitement attending a political campaign. Although drawing large audiences wherever he goes, as the people know that 'Blaine always says something,' he is most successful in the actual planning of a campaign, and setting others to work. But he is most happy on the stump, without being embarrassed with the details of a canvass. Have often heard him say, When I take the stump I immediately begin to gain in flesh, and strength, and courage. He would speak with the greatest ease twice a day, and would think nothing of riding across the country forty miles from one appointment to another. He would much rather, in these campaign tours, stop in some obscure family mansion than at the public house. Sensible that all power in a republic is lodged in the people, his ambition was to get as near the people as possible. And this he did without assuming that objectionable, patronizing air, so common among little great men. In the cabins of the poor, in the cottage of the laboring man, in the workshop, where the wheels of machinery are humming, wherever man earns his daily bread by the sweat of his brow, there Mr. Blaine enters, and is ever welcome. Once seeing a person, and conversing with him, the face and form, the lineage, the family history and characteristics of the individual are henceforth impressed upon his mind, to be recalled at will by his great memory. 'How did he know me, and how did he know events in my life which I myself have forgotten? What a wonderful man he is!' said one, enthusiastically turning away from an interview. 'How in the world did he know I had a sister Mary, who married a Jones?' inquired another. This wonderful memory of faces and family history has been a great help to Mr. Blaine in his public career.

"While most engaging and fascinating in conversation, he always approaches a man on the topic which will most interest the individual addressed. On religious subjects he is perfectly at home, with a sharply defined system of belief and profound knowledge, showing deep research into the theological discussions. Was it a plain farmer who sought an interview? He would go over with him the prospects of the crops, the kind and amount of fertilizers used, the price of farm wages, and all the matters relating to farm and home industry. And so of every occupation or profession, his knowledge being so varied and general as to enable him to touch men at the most susceptible points. A well-known horse dealer called upon Mr. Blaine to negotiate the sale of a horse. The conversation at once turned upon horses. Mr. Blaine gave the names of all the noted horses, the best time they had made, the track on which it was accomplished, the date of the achievement, and even the name of the driver. The horseman came away thunderstruck. 'Gracious!'

ional runds of colleges and ing have been munificent. All he w how much was wanted, and his check mediately. A certain doctor of divir beggar, called once when Mr. B. was sation with another gentleman. He ex cordially greeting the doctor with an quired: 'How large shall the check be, He has contributed directly to the ere of nearly every church in the city. of all the church edifices built during l His purse strings are untied at every app is needed?' has ever been his inquiry, as

will do?' His giving has not been c libraries, schools, church bells, and oth but many a widow's heart, and many a c been made to rejoice on account of his no Occasionally the report of a large gift w into the newspapers, but those the most world never knew. But one other man been his equal in the matter of giving-M loved friend, ex-Gov. Abner Coburn of Sk ple have misjudged Mr. Blaine's wealth b

of liberal giving Moo

of the Congregational Church in this city, then under the pastorate of Rev. Dr. Webb, now of Boston. While a firm believer in the doctrines of that communion, he is broad and liberal in his practices and affiliations, being willing to tolerate even Bob Ingersoll, with all his vagarion. There is not the taint of narrow religious partiranship or bigotry about him. He has the heart, and soul, and life of an every-day, practical Christian. He early expouned the Sunday-school cause. Nearly thirty years ago, 'l'ooples' Hall' and its vicinity was the 'Devil's half-age of Augusta. It was a place where doubtful characters congregated and low dances were held. The church entablished there a mission Sunday-school, and Mr. Blaine had a class of men and women who had scarcely ever entered a church, and who were gathered in from the highways, and who came in their shirt sleeves, some laying aside their pipes and tobacco, and some having about them the fumes of liquor. Mr. Blaine would prepare himself for his class with the same care as a lawyer would prepare a case for the courts. There was inspiration and power in his teaching. His exposition of the Bacred Word was clear, lucid and convincing, and he led many a miserable creature up from the slums of their daily thought and living to the pure and bracing atmosphere of a higher life. The entire moral atmosphere of Peoples' Hall' and its surroundings were changed. I met, not long since, a gentleman who was a member of that large Sunday school class of Mr. Blaine's, and, who was resemed, by his efforts, from a worthless life. Said he : "Not a day passes has I bless the name of Blaine. The words he attered long years ago, in that Sunday school class, ring in my enve to day."

"Mr. Binine began houselessping in Augment in the childrenhioned homestead on Green Street, under the au-

cestral elms, formerly owned by the Stanwood family. The house was built nearly a hundred years ago. He occupied the east tenement, of some seven rooms, and lived in a very humble and unostentatious manner. One domestic attended to the household duties, which were always under the personal supervision of Mrs. Blaine, who added to her other accomplishments that of being an exsellent housekeeper. And here, within the charmed circle of his home, Mr. Blaine was at his very best. He never undertook the slightest care or responsibility concerning the management of household affairs; was always glad to have some one else assume that. Apprentices in the printing office boarded at his house, and he and Mrs. B. were to them a father and mother in all the kindly relations and ministries expected from parents. One young man, of impulsive temperament, gave the family considerable solicitude, on account of keeping late hours, coming home habitually after the other members of the family had retired for the night, and sometimes under the influence of liquor. Mr. Blaine resolved to save that young man if possible. He didn't begin by trying to reform him with a club in the side of the head, but he gently persuaded him into the better way. Being himself a thoroughly temperate man, not keeping in his house even the lightest wines, he could talk to the young man from the correct moral standpoint. He, who was being led on to ruin, became a man, and is now one of the most successful business men in the State, and rejoices in every prospect of the privilege of voting for Mr. Blaine.

"Mr. Blaine had no special room assigned as his study, but the dining-room was his editorial-room, where the able leaders, and sharp replies to contemporaries, were written. The meal over, and the cloth removed, Mr. Blaine would bring out his huge sheets of paper, and be-

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gin his editorials. His handwriting is bold and pronounced. He never writes or marks proof with a pencil. He never rewrites, but the changes and interlineations are 'just dreadful.' While weaving the thread of his article, he is entirely oblivious of all that is passing about him. He 'thinks upon his feet,' pacing the floor before submitting his thoughts to paper. Very little of his editorialwork was done at the Journal office. When there, he looked over the newspapers, exchanged cheerful and helpful words with the compositors at the case, and, above all, met his political friends, imbibed their views, and replenished his material for future editorial-work. The inside 'form' of the paper was never made up without his personal supervision. He would stand by the foreman and dictate the position of every article, from the leader down to the most trivial three-line item. He was so greedy of space, and so anxious to give his readers the largest possible amount of reading, that he frequently had columns of matter left over.

"Mr. Blaine is the most persistent and tireless worker I ever knew. His ability to stand the strain of intense work, without apparent weariness, is accounted for by the fact that he is careful of his diet, takes plenty of sleep, and reasonable exercise.

"Nothing malignant about his nature. Absolutely without malice. Will reward an enemy sooner than punish him. If a man should fight him bitterly to-day, he would be just as likely to do him a favor to-morrow. This has been a source of great annoyance to his steadfast friends.

"Had he entered the pulpit, instead of the political arena, there would not have been his equal in the profession in the country. Had he chosen a business life, his wealth would have equaled that of Vanderbilt."

Perhaps Mr. Blaine's greatest forensic effort while a member of the Maine Legislature, certainly the one which brought him most conspicuously forward as a national man, and led most directly to his promotion to Congress was that delivered on March 7, 1862, upon a set of resolutions relating to National Affairs passed by the Senate of the State, and in reply to Mr. Gould, of Thomaston, who had occupied several hours in opposing them. This speech showed Mr. Blaine's vast resources of political learning, his extreme readiness in repartee, the logical bent of his mind, his power of refutation, sarcastic and deliberate, his invincibility in argumentation, his qualities as a sustained thinker and orator, at an age when so young as to produce surprise at the nature of his achievement. The resolutions, which had passed the Senate by a vote of 24 to 4, indorsed Lincoln's administration in the conduct of the war; pledged the loval people of Maine to its support; urged on Congress to confiscate rebel estates and forfeit and liberate the slaves; to raise and support armies by employing all able bodied men; and provided that a copy be sent to all Senators and Representatives. After Mr. Gould had concluded his lengthy speech, Mr. Blaine responded as follows :-

"Mr. Chairman:—The first hour of the seven which the gentleman from Thomaston has consumed I shall pass over with scarcely a comment. It was addressed almost exclusively, and in violation of parliamentary rules, to personal matters between himself and a distinguished citizen from the same section, lately the Gubernatorial Candidate of the Democratic party, and now representing the County of Knox in the other branch of the Legislature (Col. Smart). With that quarrel, here or elsewhere, it would be unseemly for me to meddle, and without intending disrespect to either gentleman, I may quote

the Grub Street couplet, apt if not elegant, as illustrating my position:

"For the matter of that I don't care a toss up, Whether Mossup kicks Barry or Barry kicks Mossup."

"And at the game of "kicking," I warn the gentleman from Thomaston, from my own past observation, that he will find the Senator from Knox quite as valiant an adversary as he will care to encounter. Without further delay on matters personal, I proceed sir, to the discussion of what I may term the inestimably important question submitted to the judgment of this Legislature.

"I shall best make myself understood, and perhaps most intelligibly respond to the argument of the gentleman from Thomaston, by discussing the question in its two phases: first as to the power of Congress to adopt the measures conceived in the pending Resolutions; and secondly as to the expediency of adopting them. And at the very outset, I find between the gentleman from Thomaston and myself, a most radical difference as to the "War Power" of the Constitution; its origin, its extent, and the authority which shall determine its action, direct its operation, and fix its limit. He contends, and he spent some four or five hours in attempting to prove, that the war power in this Government is lodged wholly in the Executive, and in describing his almost endless authority he piled Ossa on Pelion until he had made the President under the war power perfectly despotic, with all prerogatives and privileges concentrated in his own person-and then to end the tragedy with a farce, with uplifted hands he reverently thanked God that Abraham Lincoln was not an ambitious villain (like some of his Democratic predecessors, I presume) to use this power, trample on the liberties of the nation, erect a throne for himself, and thus add another to

the list of usurpers that have disfigured the world's history. That was precisely the line of the gentleman's logic—first stripping all the other departments of their proper and constitutional power, heaping it all on the President and then thanking God that the President does not rule as the caprices of tyranny might dictate! Could argumentative nonsense go farther?

"I dissent from these conclusions of the gentleman. I read the Federal Constitution differently! I read in the most pregnant and suggestive section of that immortal charter that certain "powers" are declared to belong to Congress. I read therein that "Congress shall have power" among other large grants of authority, "to provide for the common defense;" that it shall have power "to declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;" that it shall have power to "raise and support armies," to "provide and maintain a navy," and to "make rules for the government of the land and naval forces:" and as though these powers were not sufficiently broad and general, the section concludes in its eighteenth subdivision, by declaring that Congress shall have power "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof." Mark that-"in any department or officer thereof!"

"Such are the large grants of war power made specifically to Congress in the Federal Constitution; and to show you that these grants were understood to be of indefinite extent, bounded and limited only by the law of necessity, I shall quote an authority which for threequarters of a century has received the undivided respect of the nation—an authority which has been venerated and accepted by all the most eminent Constitutional lawyers of our country, from Chief Justice Marshall, the greatest of our earlier jurists, to Daniel Webster, the greatest of all. I refer to the writings of Alexander Hamilton in the Federalist. In the twenty-third number of that great work, Mr. Hamilton discusses the very question at issue here to-day in reference to the power of the government to defend and preserve "the public peace against internal convulsions" as well as "external attacks." Speaking of the power to provide for the "common defense" specifically declared in the Constitution itself, as I have above quoted, "to be a Congressional power," Mr. Hamilton says:

"The authorities essential to the care of the common defense, are these: to raise armies; to build and equip fleets; to prescribe rules for the government of both; to direct their operations; to provide for their support. These powers ought to exist without limitation; because it is impossible to foresee or to define the extent and variety of national exigences, and the correspondent extent and variety of the means which may be necessary to satisfy them. The circumstances that endanger the safety of nations are infinite; and for this reason, no constitutional shackels can wisely be imposed on the power to which the care of it is committed. This power ought to be co-extensive with all the possible combinations of such circumstances, and ought to be under the direction of the same councils which are appointed to preside over the common defense.

"This is one of those truths which, to a correct and unprejudiced mind, carries its own evidence along with; and may be obscured, but cannot be made plair her by argument or reasoning. It rests upon axioms, a any simple as they are universal—the means ought to be pro

to the end; the persons from whose agency the attainment of any end is expected, ought to possess the means by which it is to be attained.

"... And unless it can be shown, that the circumstances which may affect the public safety, are reducible within certain determinate limits; unless the contrary of this position can be fairly and rationally disputed, it must be admitted as a necessary consequence that there can be no limitation of that authority, which is to provide for the defense and protection of the community, in any matter essential to its efficacy."

"The great respect due to the quotation I have just made, comes in the first place from the eminent character of the man who wrote it. It gives an enhanced force from the fact that the author assisted in framing the Constitution whose meaning he was so clearly expounding; and in the third place it is of especial value from the circumstance that it was written pending the adoption of the Constitution, and as an inducement to the people to ratify it. It is to be noted, moreover, that Mr. Hamilton was the ankowledged leader of the Federal party of that day-a party accused, and perhaps justly, of wishing to vest all the power possible in the hands of the President; and yet this Prince of Federalists concedes, or rather I should say specifically asserts, that the principles on which any war shall be conducted, whether against "internal convulsions" or "external attack," shall be determined by Congress.

"And I beg you further to observe, Mr. Chairman, that at the very time Mr. Hamilton was penning and publishing the words I have quoted, Patrick Henry, the leading spirit of the Republicans, who opposed the Federal Constitution, and who well nigh succeeded in defeating the adoption of that instrument in Virginia, stood up in the Convention of that State, and in a speech of such power as only he could command, grounded his opposition on the fact that this large grant of power was made to Congress. And he appealed with vehement warmth to the slaveholding interests, then, as now, so sensitive as to its presumed rights and dangers, warning them, and bidding them remember that in certain contingencies and exigencies, "Congress could under the war power of the Constitution, abolish slavery in all the States."

"We thus have, Mr. Chairman, as contemporaneous expositions of the Constitution, the expressed opinions of the leading Federalist and a leading Republican of that era—a leading supporter and a leading opponent—both eminent, both honest, the one supporting, the other opposing, for precisely the same reasons—an agreement of testimony as marked as it is conclusive.

"At the origin of our government, Mr. Chairman, the people were jealous of their liberties; they gave power guardedly and grudgingly to their rulers; they were hostile, above all things, to what is termed the one-man power, and you cannot but observe with what peculiar care they provided against the abuse of the war power. For after giving Congress the power "to declare war, and "to raise and support armies," they added in the Constitution these remarkable and emphatic words, "but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years," which is precisely the period for which the Representatives in the popular branch are chosen. Thus, sir, this power was not given to Congress simply, but in effect it was given to the House of Representatives; the people placing it where they could lay their hands directly upon it at every biennial election, and say "yes" or "no" to the principles or policy of any war. And it is worthy of note that this popular control is

secured at every corner and though every loophole of the Constitution, for not only do the people in their primary capacity, by direct suffrage, elect their Representatives every two years, but in a case of a vacancy happening, no power, save that of the people themselves is able to fill it. If vacancy happens in the Senate, the Governor of a State may appoint a successor till the Legislature meet, but if it occur "in the representation of any State" the Constitution simply declares that the executive authority of such State "shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancy," leaving to the people directly the choice of the Representative. It is moreover declared in the Constitution, "that all bills for revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives," thus giving again to popular control the power of the "purse," which is superior to the power of the "sword," as without it, the sword has "neither force nor edge." Talk, sir, as the gentleman from Thomaston has, for so many hours, about the war power being lodged exclusively in the President! Why such an assertion is the acme of nonsense. Without the assent of Congress there can be no war, and Congress can stop the war at any moment it chooses. Without the assent of Congress, and the supply of money by Congress, your quartermaster can give you no transportation; your commissary cannot issue a ration; your chief of ordnance cannot furnish a cartridge; your paymaster cannot give a private a single month's wages. As the House of Commons, sir, in England controls the aristocratic Chamber of Lords, and holds in check the power of the Throne, by having the exclusive right to originate "supply bills," so, sir, our House of Representatives. through the right to originate bills of revenue, causes the fresh and vigorous voice of the people to be heard against the long-tenured power of Senators and the individual wishes of the Executive. And in attempting to strip the Representative branch of this, its rightful prerogative, and the thousand incidental powers derived from it, and through it, the gentleman from Thomaston has aimed to curtail the power of the people, and to give to the whims and preferences it may be, of a single man, what was intended to be, and must of right continue to be, for the arbitrament and deliberate decision of the people of the entire nation.

"In all that I am thus maintaining in regard to the supreme war power of Congress, I make no conflict between that and the Executive power, which in war, as well as in all matters of civil administration, belongs to the President. The question at issue between the gentleman from Thomaston and myself is not whether the President has power of great magnitude in the conduct of a war, for that I readily admit, or rather I stoutly affirm : but the point at issue is, which is superior in authority, Congress or the President? I think I have shown that the Constitution vests the supreme unlimited power in Congress, and that the President must obey the direction of Congress, as the chief executive officer of the nation, and at the same time he must be held accountable for the mode in which his subordinate officers execute the trusts confided to them. There can be no confusion of ideas as to the proper metes and bounds of this authority, and I am quite sure that this war will progress to a successful conclusion, without the conflict of authority under discussion being even once practically developed. I need say no more on this point than simply to introduce an illustration of how the power of Congress is felt in prescribing rules "for the government of the land and naval forces." Until quite recently many of the commanding generals have been in the habit of returning fugitive slaves

that sought refuge in their camps. Congress considering such a practice to be a scandal on our civilization, has just directed that it shall cease, and the President, as the executive officer of the nation, is charged with the enforcement of the will of Congress in the premises. With that conclusive example of the exercise of Congressional power, which I have been discussing, I leave this branch of the subject.

"Mr. Chairman, upon an analysis of the different positions held by the gentleman from Thomaston and myself, on the various questions suggested by the resolves under discussion, I find that after proper elimination the points at issue may fairly be reduced to two. The first, as to wherein the war power of the Government is lodged, has been examined, and I have attempted to demonstrate that the Constitution vests it in Congress. I shall have more to say on this topic as I progress in my remarks. The other point at issue has reference to the relations that now exist between the Government of the United States and the so-called Confederate States.

"The gentleman from Thomaston has quoted the Treason clause of the Constitution, and has elaborately argued that the armed rebels in the South have still the full right to the protection of property guaranteed therein, and that any confiscation of their property or estates by any other process than is there laid down would be unconstitutional. I am endeavoring to state the position of the gentleman with entire candor, as I desire to meet this argument throughout in that spirit. I maintain, sir, in opposition to this view, that we derive the right to confiscate the property and liberate the slaves of rebels from a totally different source. I maintain that to-day we are in a state of civil war,—civil war, too, of the most gigantic proportions. And I think it will strike this House as a singular

and most significant confession of the unsoundness of the gentleman's argument, that to sustain his position he had to deny that we are engaged in civil war at all. He stated, much to the amusement of the House, I think, that it was not a civil war because Jeff Davis was not seeking to wrest the Presidential chair from Abraham Lincoln, but simply to earry off a portion of the Union in order to form a separate government. Pray, sir, is not Abraham Lincoln the rightful President of the whole country and of all the States, and is it not interfering as much with his constitutional prerogative to dispute his authority in Georgia or Louisiana as it would be to dispute it in Maine or Pennsylvania? Could absurdity go farther than the gentleman has carried it in taking this ridiculous position? Sir. what constitutes a civil war? That is settled by International Law; and I am but repeating a principal familiar to every schoolboy when I read from Vattel the following pertinent declarations which I venture to any were never disputed and never will be by any one except the gentleman from Thomaston;

"When a garty is formed in a State, which no longer sheet the american, and is of a strength sufficient to make head against him; or when, in a republic, the nation is desided into two opposite factions, and both sides take arms, this is called civil now. . . The converges indeed never fails to term reliefs all subjects openly resisting him; but when these become of strength nufficient to oppose him, or that he fails himself compelled to make now regularly on them, he must be contential with the term civil now."

"And as we are engaged in civil was what is the sentist White simply that the content must be carried on as between foreign parties, and on that gains I again more Variet:

"Whenever a numerous party thinks it has a right to resist the sovereign, and finds itself able to declare that opinion sword in hand, the war is to be carried on between them in the same manner as between two different nations."

"And I maintain, sir, that to-day we are practicing precisely on that principle. On what other ground do we send back thousands of traitors taken with arms in their hands, as exchanged prisoners, instead of indicting, trying and hanging them? On what other ground are we continually receiving and sending flags of truce? On what other ground did that arrant traitor Howell Cobb come down only last week to Fortress Monroe and hold a parley with General Wool as to a systematic exchange of prisoners? On what other ground do we blockade their port? On what other ground were we compelled, with no little humiliation, to give up Slidell and Mason? On what other ground did President Lincoln but a few days since order that the scoundrels taken from the piratical privateers of Jeff Davis should be removed from Moyamensing Jail and treated as prisoners of war? This, Sir, was the last as it was the greatest concession, and it leaves us to-day in the attitude of practically conceding, without formally granting, to the so-called Confederate States the same rights of war that we would accord to any belligerent power, and I understand the gentlemen from Thomaston to approve this course? (Mr. Gould nodded assent.) And yet, Mr. Chairman, while giving to these armed traitors all these rights and immunities, the gentleman tells you that Congress shall not authorize the confiscation of the property or the liberation of the slaves of a single rebel except by "due process of law." In other words, the gentleman gives to the traitors the protection of belligerents outside or independent of the Constitution. and of loyal citizens inside or under the Constitution at

one and the same time. And he denies the right of our Government to proceed against them by virtue of any rights acquired from the belligerent attitude of the parties, or indeed, to quote his exact words, in any mode than by "due process of law." In other words, the gentleman gives every advantage to the rebels and imposes every disability on the Federal Government, and in assuming this ground I charge the gentleman with having advocated the cause of Jeff Davis just as effectually as though he had appeared here as his avowed champion with a retainer in his pocket from that Prince of Rebels. Sir, I am in favor of conducting this contest effectively and honorably; and I perceive and think I appreciate the policy which our government, however reluctantly, has adopted in carrying on hostilities with the ordinary usages and principles of war. Indeed, after the rebellion assumed its collossal proportions it was quite impossible to do otherwise without encountering numberless and insuperable embarrassments. All that I ask, sir, is that we shall have as good as we give, and that since we are forced to treat these rebels as public enemies and incur all the disadvantages resulting therefrom, we shall at least have the corresponding advantages that logically pertain to our position, and shall in consequence thereof exercise and enforce the rights of war against the so-called Confederates so long as the state of war continues.

"Of course this position does not imply that the only rights we have against these rebels are those of belligerence or war; nor does it exclude us from asserting the higher rights of sovereignty whenever they can be made effective. By no means. Even the sweeping quotation I have made from Vattel is restricted by the same writer in a clause immediately following, to the time during which the war continues. That celebrated author is careful to

state, and I quote his exact language, that the sovereign authority "having conquered the opposite party and reduced it to sue for peace, may except from the amnesty the authors of the trouble and the heads of the party; may bring them to a legal trial, and on conviction punish them. So that by the law of nations and the law of common sense, we have as against the rebels the rights both of belligerence and sovereignty-the latter class of rights being incapable of enforcement at present, and so remaining until they are vindicated and re-established through the rights and powers of belligerence. In addition to the authority of Vattel, which I have quoted, I am glad to be able to refer to a very recent opinion from one of the most eminent Constitutional lawyers in New England, in support of my position. I refer to a decision of Judge Sprague in a recent prize case in the U.S. District Court in Boston. That eminent jurist laid it down as an indisputable doctrine of law, that to-day we have as against the so-called Confederate States all the rights of belligerence and sovereignty too-thus sustaining not only in effect, but in precision of language, the principles I have quoted from Vattel; and which I have labored to establish as essential to sound views and conclusions on the important subject under discussion.

"And here, Sir, in pursuance of the principles I have enunciated, I lay down the proposition as broadly as my language can express it, that every power and prerogative which the Federal Government would rightfully possess in war, as against England, France, Brazil, Mexico, or any other foreign power, it does this day possess as against the so-called Confederate States. And I challenge any gentleman successfully to refute that proposition! But the moment these war powers are carried to the destruction or forfeiture of the property of a rebel, the

gentleman from Thomaston cries out that the Constitution of the United States is violated in the section where Congress is prohibited forfeiting property "except during the life of the person attainted" of treason.

"I tell the gentleman, that the operation of that clause of the Constitution is one governing the civil tribunals of the land, where courts are in session, juries empaneled, precepts served, and the process of law unobstructed. If he contends that it is applicable to a condition of things wherein the civil power of the Government has ceased to be operative in eleven States, he must contend by parity of reasoning that every other provision of the Constitution is equally operative, and that the state of belligerence does not supervene with its own well-defined and self-protective laws. If he takes this ground, and there is none other left him, I ask him, and I want an answer, whence is derived the power to blockade the ports of the Rebel States?

"The Constitution of the United States says expressly that "no preference shall be given to the ports of one State over those of another." And yet directly in the face of this inhibition, a blockade of the most rigorous character has been instituted by which Charleston, Savannah, New Orleans, and all other Southern ports are cut off from all commerce, while New York, Boston, Portland, and all other loyal ports are left in the free and unrestricted enjoyment of trade. Whence is the power derived to do this? The gentleman does not answer. Is it an unconstitutional act because in apparent conflict with the letter of one section of that instrument? How can the gentleman justify the act, other than by the war power of the Government blockading the ports of the socalled Confederate States, just as we did the ports of Mexico when at war with that power?

"I assert then, again Sir, that we have as a government, all the rights of war against the so-called Confederate States so long as they are in rebellion, sword in hand, and I assert that this proposition is not only unanswered but unanswerable. Now, Sir, what are these rights? I have no desire to inflict upon this House lengthy readings from Vattel, and Grotius, and Phillimore, and Wheaton, and Kent upon points of international law-all of which authors are lying here before me. I content myself with asserting what will not be denied, that the right of idemnification from the property of the enemy for the expenses of the war is clearly recognized by all the standard authorities. You may seize whatever is essential to the support of your army and convert it to your use. You may take his horses and his mules; his houses and his crops; his slaves and his dependents. and use them just in such manner consistent with humanity as may conduce to your triumph and reimburse you for your outlays.

"The gentleman from Thomaston seemed by his remarks to have a great admiration for Gen. Halleck, and in that I most cordially sympathize; now I should like the gentleman to tell me by what particular provision of the Federal Constitution General Halleck has been exacting contributions from Messrs. A. B. and C., leading seccessionists in St. Louis, for the support of Union men who have been driven from their homes and hearths by the myrmidons of Price and McCulloch? Does the gentleman pretend that this money was taken from these secessionists by "due process of law," or was it taken under the war power which Alexander Hamilton said could have no "constitutional shackels whatever?" Why, Sir, if the argument of the gentleman was carried to its legitimate conclusion, your Union armies could not shoot a

single rebel nor imprison a single traitor, for the Constitution declares that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law." To assume the ground of the gentleman from Thomaston with its legitimate sequences, is practically to give up the contest. For he tells you, and he certainly repeated it a score of times, that you cannot deprive these rebels of their property except "by due process of law," and at the same time he confesses that within the rebel territory it is impossible to serve any precept or enforce any verdict. He at the same time declares that we have not belligerent rights because the contest is not a civil war. Pray what kind of a war is it? The gentleman acknowledges that the rebels are traitors, and if so they must be engaged in some kind of war, because the Constitution declares that "treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them." It is therefore war on their side. It must also be war on ours, and if so, what kind of war?

Mr. Gould rose and said that he would define it as domestic war. [Laughter.]

Mr. Blaine (resuming):

"Domestic war! that's it! Well, Mr. Chairman, we shall learn something before this discussion is over. Domestic war! I have heard of domestic woolens, domestic sheetings, and domestic felicity, but a "domestic war" is something entirely new under the sun. All the writers of international law that I have ever read, speak of two kinds of war, foreign and civil. Vattel will, I suppose, have a new edition with annotations by Gould, in which "domestic war" will be defined and illustrated as a contest not quite foreign, not quite civil, but one in which

the rebellious party have at one and the same time all the rights of peaceful citizens and all the immunities of alien enemies—for that is precisely what the gentleman by his argument claims for the Southern secessionists.

"But, Sir, I have been digressing. The line of my argument was leading me to show the rights of war as defined and accorded by international law—having already demonstrated that whatever these rights may be we have them to-day as against the so-called Confederate States. I have briefly stated what these rights are in respect to the property of the enemy, as defined in books of European and American authority. I propose in addition to show what we as a nation have construed them to be in practice. I propose to show to the House that in the Mexican war our Government, through instructions issuing from the War Department, then presided over by one of the most eminent of American statesmen (the late Governor Marcy), sanctioned the very doctrines I have advocated.

"In a letter of instruction to General Taylor, September 22, 1846, Governor Marcy laid down the principle that "an invading army has the unquestionable right to draw its supplies from the enemy without paying for them, and to require contributions for its support and to make the enemy feel the weight of the war;" and General Taylor was accordingly instructed to proceed in the campaign on this principle.

"A few months later President Polk, in a letter to his Secretary of the Treasury, Robert J. Walker, maintained "the right of the conqueror to levy contributions on the enemy in their seaports, towns or provinces, and to apply the same to defray the expenses of the war." And on this principle he seized the Mexican custom-houses, levied the duties and turned all the receipts into the coffers of

the Union, and in his own language, in a letter to the Secretary of the Navy, March 31, 1847, Mr. Polk "claimed and exercised this as a belligerent right."

" Now, Sir, against the Mexicans this was an indisputably proper exercise of the belligerent power. Viewed externally, other nations could do nothing else than acquiesce in it. But from an internal point of view, a very grave question arose in regard to it, and it was the same which divides the gentleman from Thomaston and myself in one branch of this discussion to-day. And that question was whether the President had the right to direct the seizure of the custom-houses, and this collection of duties, or whether it was a matter belonging primarily and exclusively to Congress, as the war-making power of the Government, entitled to "prescribe rules concerning captures on land and water." The subject was discussed with some warmth at the time in both branches of Congress, and though Mr. Polk's course was sustained by the partizan majority in both Senate and House, the weight of the argument was clearly against him-Mr. Webster demonstrating with his ponderous logic that the power did not belong to the President. The subject was of such importance as to call for notice and discussion in the late edition of Kent's Commentaries, where, after minutely stating what President Polk had done, the learned commentator makes the following remarks:

"All these rights of war undoubtedly belong to the conqueror or nation who holds foreign places and countries by conquest; but the exercise of those rights and powers, except those that temporarily arise from necessity, belong to that power in the government to which the prerogative of war is constitutionally confided.

* These fiscal and commercial relations, issued and enforced at the mere pleasure of a President, would

seem to press strongly upon the constitutional power of Congress to raise and support armies, to lay and collect taxes, duties, and imports, and to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and to declare war, and make rules for the government and regulation of the land and water, and to define offences against the law of nations. Though the Constitution vests the executive power in the President, and declares him to be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, these powers must necessarily be subordinate to the legislative power in Congress. It would appear to me to be the policy of true construction of this simple and general grant of executive power to the President, not to suffer it to interfere with those specific powers of Congress, which are more safely deposited in the legislative department, and that the powers thus assumed by the President do not belong to him but to Congress."

"I very much fear that the extensive law library of the gentleman from Thomaston, is not graced with the latest edition of Kent, or he would hardly have ventured to lay down doctrines and principles which are so signally denied and rebuked in that peerless authority.

"And this construction, enunciated by Webster and Kent, I maintain, Sir, is understood to be the doctrine of President Lincoln, whom the gentleman has endeavored so ingeniously to misrepresent in his argument, and to damage by his support. The gentleman stated that the President had reversed General Frémont's order of confiscation because of its inexpediency and tendency to "raise a great row." The simple fact of the record is, and that is all we have to appeal to, that the President stated in his letter to General Frémont, that "he thought it proper to adhere to, and not transcend, the law of Congress," and as General Frémont's order did transcend the

confiscation act of the extra session of Congress, it was directed that it be changed to conform to it. The meaning of this declaration of the President was that Congress only had the right to do that which General Frémont proposed to do in his proclamation. And this meaning was made still more distinctly manifest by the following unequivocal declarations in the message of the President at the beginning of the present session of Congress. I quote:

"I have, in every case, thought it proper to keep the intregity of the Union prominent as the primary object of the contest on our part, leaving all questions which are not of vital military importance to the more deliberate

action of the Legislature.

"So also obeying the dictate of providence as well as the obligations of law, instead of transcending I have adhered to the act of Congress to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes. If a new law upon the same subject shall be proposed, its propriety will be duly considered. The Union must be preserved, and hence all indispensable means must be employed.

"Gen. Halleck, who is no less a lawyer than a military chieftain, has deliberately expressed the opinion that he has no right to liberate a single negro, except as authorized to do so by the war power of Congress—thereby very clearly and closely following the admirable exposition of the Constitution as laid down in the famous case of Brown vs. the United States by Chief Justice Marshall.

"John Quincy Adams, a name reverenced wherever popular liberty has an advocate, laid down the following proposition on the floor of the House of Representatives:

"From the instant that your slave-holding States become the theater of war, civil or foreign, from that instant, the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery, in every way in which it can be interfered with—from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of the State burdened with slavery to a foreign power.

If civil war come, if insurrection come, is this beleaguered Capital, is this besieged Government to see millions of its subjects in arms, and have no right to break the fetters which they are forging into swords? No! The war power of the Government can sweep this institution into the Gulf."

"And, sir, in a House full of the most brilliant Southern lawyers, Wise, and Dromgoole, and Rhett, and Marshall, among them, not one dared to dispute the proposition. Mark the extent to which Mr. Adams carries the war power of Congress—"even to the cession of the State burdened with slavery to a foreign power!"

"The mail of last evening, Sir, added to the list of authorities one which is entitled to eminent respect, and one which I especially commend to the gentleman from Thomaston as being soundly Democratic. I refer to a letter of the venerable Amos Kendall, one of a series which he is addressing to President Lincoln. He is contending against the proposition for universal emancipation, slaves of loyal and disloyal alike, as being wrong in policy and unjust toward good citizens. He urges a different course, and asks the extreme emancipationists to direct their energy against the slaves of rebels only—that being clearly within their power. I quote Mr. Kendall's closing paragraph:

"Patriotic men may well differ as to the extent to which the punishment of treason shall be carried. The extreme emancipationists may, if they choose, insist that it shall be carried to the extent of confiscating and setting free all the slaves of rebels. That they may do without as-

sailing any principle of the Constitution, and surely they would be much stronger on that ground than any other. Why, then, should they abandon the Constitution, and place themselves on revolutionary ground? Why not act with cordiality with those who are striving to maintain the Constitution as it is; and, that being accomplished, seek the consummation of their ends by means of confiscation under authority?"

"Mr. Kendall thus assumes as a proposition which no one will dispute, that Congress has the power to liberate the slaves of rebels. The gentleman from Thomaston stubbornly contends that Congress has no such power under the Constitution, and that if it should attempt to go a pin's point beyond the Constitution, Congress would become as much a traitor as Jeff Davis and his confederates in guilt. The gentleman's argument, then, is simply this, and nothing more and nothing less, viz., that we have no power to confiscate the slaves of rebels-that it would be treason to assume this power, which could in no event be justified. What is the inference? Why simply that if it come to a question between sacrificing slavery or sacrificing the Union, the gentleman sacrifices the Union, because he can find no constitutional power to save it. He feels badly over it; he wrings his hands with impotent regret, but not having the constitutional power to do the only thing which might become necessary to save the Union, he must "let it slide."

"His rules of statesmanship in this matter are equal in wisdom to the rules of etiquette which forbade the Frenchman drowning in the river from calling on a passer-by to rescue him, because he did not enjoy the acquaint-ance of the gentleman, and such a liberty would be improper! The difference between myself and the gentleman from Thomaston is very wide and at the same time

very simple. As between Slavery and the Union he, by his logic, goes for sustaining the first at the sacrifice of the second; whereas I go for smiting the first if it stand in the way of the salvation of the second. That is the whole thing in a nutshell!

"The gentleman strove elaborately to prove that this Government, this Nation, this great American people have no right to do anything not distinctly warranted in the Federal Constitution. Sir, no position could be more radically erroneous, and that false premise is the corner-stone of error on which the gentleman has reared such a superstructure of wrong deductions and conclusions. I affirm, Sir, in opposition to this assumption, that the American people have rights which are anterior to and wholly independent of the Constitution; and I affirm moreover that while that precious instrument will continue to be, God grant for these many generations, the rule of our civil administration, yet that over it and under it and outside of it and above it there is engraven on the hearts of this people that God-given right, that great precept of nature, "Save thyself!" And I maintain, Sir, that the great law of self-preservation which in the individual knows no limit but necessity, is even stronger in a nation, by as much as the interests and importance of a nation transcend those of an individual. In the magnificent paragraph which in the earlier part of my remarks I quoted from Mr. Hamilton, this self-evident truth is thus tersely enunciated: "The circumstances that endanger the safety of nations are infinite; and for this reason no constitutional shackles can be wisely imposed on the power to which the care of it is committed."

"There was one error, Mr. Chairman, which seemed to haunt the gentleman very persistently throughout the entire thread of his argument—and that was the alleged impossibility of bringing the war power to bear against the rebels without first conceding that they had actually carried their states out of the Union. He stated many times that if the Rebel States are integral members of the Union, the contest with the rebels themselves cannot be carried on as a war, and that conversely to concede that it is war, is to concede that the States have actually seceded and set up a separate power. No statement could be more absurdly fallacious or amusingly ridiculous, as the gentleman himself will see by the most casual recurrence to fundamental principles. The State cannot be compromised or destroyed by the wrongful acts of never so large a majority of its people. The wrong doers by the very force of their numbers may and do acquire certain immunities against individual punishment as I have already shown, but they do not acquire the right to change the relations of the State. I maintain as stoutly as he does, that Virginia and Tennessee, and all the rest of the eleven, are to-day States in the Union, and that the Constitution and laws of the Nation are operative within their borders. A rebellious force, however, having risen to such strength as to thwart the civil power and prevent the actual operation of the laws, it is the duty of the Nation through the war power to vindicate its authority, so that a Constitution which is operative may be made actually operating, and that laws which are in force may be really enforced. The gentleman's laborious effort, therefore, to demolish the theory of Senator Sumner in regard to the suicide of the Rebel States, has no pertinency whatever in this discussion. All the positions I have assumed, and all the arguments I have made use of to sustain these positions, have expressly negatived the theory of Mr. Sumner, and therefore I am not called upon to notice it further. I have merely to say in leaving

this topic that the argument which maintains that the States would have to be out of the Union, before a contest with their rebellious inhabitants could be conducted as a civil war, is nothing short of an Irish bull of the most grotesque description. If the States are not members of the Union they are a foreign power, and of course a contest with their people could not be a civil war. The very essence of a civil war consists in its being a strife between members properly subject to the same sovereign authority. And the dilemma herein suggested, ridiculous if not contemptible, is the same which has driven the gentleman to deny, as he has done, that this contest is either a "foreign war" or a "civil war." He had to manufacture a new kind of war-"domestic" he styled it-in order, as he hoped, to escape the absurd conclusions which some of his propositions led to. The gentleman setting out with radically erroneous premises could do nothing else than wander away from the landmarks of truth and sound logic -and there he continues to wander "in endless mazes lost."

"I have now, Sir, at somewhat greater length than I designed when I rose, discussed the question of constitutional power, so far as it is brought into issue by the pending resolves. I have endeavored to establish as essential to the maintenance of my position two propositions: First, that the war power of this Government is lodged in Congress; and second, that under every principle and every precedent of international law the Government of the United States while sovereign over all, has, so long as the rebellion endures, all the rights of war against those who in armed force are seeking the life of the nation. If I have established these propositions, I have demonstrated the amplest power to adopt the measures proposed in the Resolves before us. If we have these powers we may do

with and toward the rebels of the Confederate States, so-called, precisely as we would and did toward Mexico; and I have given the authority of Hamilton, and Kent, and Webster, and John Quincy Adams, and President Lincoln, to show that the specific line of policy as regards the property of the enemy is to be dictated by Congress. With this brief summary I proceed to discuss the second branch of my subject, which has reference to the expediency of adopting the resolves before us.

"The first resolve, endorsing the Administration in general terms, is, I believe, not objected to in any quarter, and is not in dispute between the gentleman from Thomaston and myself. The only objection I have to it, is that it is cold, and stiff and formal, whereas to reflect my feelings it should be warm and cordial and unreserved. I am for the Administration through and through—being an early and unflinching believer in the ability, the honesty and patriotism of Abraham Lincoln, I did in my humble sphere, both with pen and tongue, all I could to promote his election; and while I was thus engaged the gentleman was denouncing him as a Black Republican and an Abolitionist and a Disunionist.

Mr. Gould rose and denied that he had done so.

"Mr. Blaine. Well, it is rather late to correct the record. All the gentleman's political associations in the campaign were with the most virulent revilers of Lincoln and Hamlin, and if he did not personally and publicly indulge in these slang charges and epithets, it was because he did not mount the stump. I am quite sure that the language I have quoted has formed the staple of his denunciations against other leading Republicans. However, we'll accept the gentleman's disclaimer as an act of

repentance, even though late, and pass on to the resolu-

"Mark, Mr. Chairman, the careful manner in which the resolution is drawn. In the first place the means adopted are to be such "as will not jeopard the rights and safety of the loyal people of the South." And in reference to those who are to be punished, it is specially provided that the blow shall fall only on those "who shall continue in arms against the authority of the United States." The punishment is not to be retrospective; all who will turn from past error and folly and crime shall be forgiven, but those who shall after due notification continue in arms, shall do so at the expense of the forfeiture of their estates and the liberation of their slaves. Should the ideas of these resolves ever be formed into practical legislation, it is evident that a day would be set and defined, beyond which a continuance in armed treason should be punished in the manner indicated. Thus much for the positive and plain intent and meaning of this resolve. Let us examine briefly just what a man means when he votes against it. The negative of it, which is the position assumed by the gentleman from Thomaston, means simply that no matter how long or how wickedly a rebel may continue in treason; no matter how he may slaughter and devastate; no matter how many and how sacred the laws of God and man he may trample under foot, still, you shall not deprive him of his estate or his slaves; every civil right which he had as a good citizen shall still be guaranteed to him. Why, Sir, the gentleman in point of right under the Constitution and laws, makes no distinction and boasts that he makes no distinction, between the loyal and the disloyal-claiming that each is entitled to all civil rights and that the man fighting in the ranks of Jeff Davis' army will have his estate and his slaves protected under the

flag of the Union just as effectually as the man who is imperiling his life in the national army for the salvation of the government. The resolution, sir, I repeat, in leaving its further discussion, is most carefully guarded declaring that the "rights of loyal men shall not be jeoparded," and—

Mr. Gould interrupted, wishing to state that the clause in reference to protecting the rights of loyal men was mere clap-trap, impracticable and absurd—that the liberation of one-half the slaves would render the remainder worthless.

"Mr. Blaine. The gentleman is evidently not very familiar with the statistics on the subject, or he would know that in Maryland, the free negro population is some thousands larger than the slave population, and I have yet to learn that slaves have not been held to be as valuable in Maryland as elsewhere. I say, moreover, that if every negro in the South were emancipated to-day, their number to the square mile of the territory inhabited by them would not be nearly so great as is the number of free negroes to the square mile in Maryland.

"I was about to say, Sir, when the gentleman interrupted me, that the resolution is one against which I can hardly see how a man can vote if he sincerely desires a vigorous prosecution of this war—though, of course, I will not question the loyalty or the motives of any one. I pass to the consideration of the third resolution.

"The gentleman says this is the same resolution, in effect, as that originally introduced in the Senate by Colonel Smart, and its design is to incite an insurrection of the negroes, and to arm them. The resolution must be taken and judged by itself—its own words. It simply declares that the services of all men should be accepted—

this implies that the service is previously offered, and expressly negatives the idea of calling on the negroes "to rise." It further says, that these men should be employed as " military necessity and the safety of the Republic may demand." I do not anticipate that any necessity will arise for arming the slaves, and as at present advised, I would not vote for a resolution recommending that step. But there are a thousand things which the negroes may do, which would greatly lighten the labors of our brave brethren in the ranks of the National army. They may dig trenches, throw up embankments, labor on fortifications, aid in transporting baggage, and make themselves "generally useful." They are, moreover, good spies and scouts, and may be employed in a thousand ways to the advancement of the Union cause. Why, it is asserted on the very best authority, that the information of Buckner's failing strength in Fort Donelson, was first made known to General Grant by a negro who escaped from the rebel lines, and that this information was the basis on which he refused Buckner's proposal for an armistice and brought him to an immediate and unconditional surrender. Had General Grant not possessed this knowledge, he might have consented to a truce, during which, rebel reinforcements arriving from Clarksville, might have carried the day against him.

"But the negro who supplied the timely information should, according to the argument of the gentleman, have been driven from our lines and remanded to the custody of his rebel master. The gentleman declares he would not accept the services of negroes in any capacity nor in any event.

"This resolution declares that these services should be accepted 'if the safety of the republic demands it;' the gentleman from Thomaston says they should not. It is

really singular, how at every crook and corner of the gentleman's argument he is driven to the abominable conclusion by his logic, that the safety of slavery is of greater moment than the safety of the Republic. The gentleman's line of argument leaves no other conclusion open to him.

"The fourth, and concluding resolution of the series requires no notice, as it relates merely to the forwarding of the others to our Senators and Representatives.

"In summing up these resolves, Sir, I maintain that they propose nothing which may not be properly done under the Constitution of the United States. They are moderate resolutions-conservative in doctrine, and wellguarded in expression. I believe that the adoption of their substance by Congress would be beneficial to the Union cause; I believe that such measures are just what the rebels most dread, and I feel assured that a confiscation act would prove verily a terror unto evil doers. I have said, Sir, that the legislation demanded is entirely within the power of Congress, without infringing the Constitution, or rather in direct pursuance of the war power of that instrument, as expounded by Hamilton and Henry, by Adams and Webster, by Marshall and Kent. All that I have proposed and advocated will in no wise conflict with the Constitution, and I think the rebellion will be subdued without resorting to extra constitutional measures. But lest the gentleman should infer that I shrink from the logical consequences of some propositions which I have laid down as ultimate steps, I tell him boldly that if the life of the nation seemed to demand the violation of the Constitution, I would violate it, and in taking this ground I am but repeating the expression of President Lincoln in his message, when he declared that "it were better to violate one provision than that all should

perish." And I will give a higher and more venerable authority than President Lincoln, for the same doctrine. No less a personage than Thomas Jefferson wrote the following sentiments in a letter to J. R. Calvin, from his retirement at Monticello, September 22, 1810:

"The question you propose, whether circumstances do not sometimes occur, which make it a duty, in officers of high trust, to assume authorities beyond the law, is easy of solution in principle but sometimes embarrassing in practice. A strict observance of the written laws is doubtless one of the high duties of a good citizen; but it is not the highest. The laws of necessity, of self-preservation, of saving our country when in danger, are of higher obligation. To lose our country by a scrupulous adherence to written law, would be to lose the law itself, with life, liberty, property, and all those who are enjoying them with us; thus absurdly sacrificing the end to the means."

"This doctrine cuts right athwart, and scatters to the four winds of heaven the whole argument of the gentleman. He sticks to forms; I go for substance. He sacrifices the end to the means. I stand ready to use the means essential to the end. I stand with, or rather follow after, Jefferson and Lincoln; he assumes a ground which both of those statesmen have denounced and execrated.

"I claim, Mr. Chairman, that in the whole history of partizan organizations not one can be found that has acted with the generosity and liberality that has characterized the Republicans since the outbreak of the rebellion. Why, Sir, in the State of Ohio, with sixty thousand partizan majority, the Republicans patriotically and most liberally gave the Gubernatorial nomination last year to a life-long Democrat—David Todd (who presided over the convention that nominated Mr. Douglas for the Presidency), and

they elected him by a countless majority. With similar liberality they allowed one branch of the Legislature to fall under the control of those who were supposed to be loyal and liberal Democrats. And what is the result? Why, Sir, to-day, after all this liberality from the Republicans, the Democrats in the branch of the Legislature controlled by them, oppose, and will probably defeat the re-election to the United States Senate of that most earnest, brave and true man, Benjamin F. Wade. That is the return the Republicans get for their lavish liberality.

"In New York, Sir, equal generosity was shown by the Republicans at the last election. They went so far even as to place their life-long opponent, Daniel S. Dickinson, at the head of their State ticket, and gave the Democrats half of the remainder of the nominees-all of whom were triumphantly elected. In return, they have received nothing but reviling and abuse, and I challenge any gentleman to point out a single locality where the Democrats having a clear majority, a Republican has been allowed to put his head above water. And to-day we are invited by the gentleman from Thomaston to patriotically abandon our entire party organization. Magnanimous advice! Most disinterested counsel! I say to the Republicans of this House, that while I am opposed to stirring up anything like partisan rancor during this crisis in the affairs of the Nation, yet we must look well to it that we sustain with increased vigor the Administration of Abraham Lincoln which we brought into power, and for whose acts we will be held responsible. While, then, we will welcome to our political fireside all who are disposed to co-operate with us, we will jealously guard against all these insidious attempts to disrupt that party organization, which is alone able to give the Administration an efficient and permanent support. And when I urge this policy, I am sure

that I speak no less the sentiments of patriotic Republicans, than of those truly loyal Democrats who intend to stand by the Administration to the end of this fight with rebellion and treason."

Mr. Blaine delivered another speech in the Maine Legislature, upon the acquisition of Cuba by the National Government, a question then momentous, which speech added greatly to his fame as a student of national affairs and as a debater without a peer in the body in which he was serving. Every day too, added to his reputation as a just and skilful parliamentarian, and he rapidly equipped himself in that school for the larger and more exacting task of Speaker of the National House of Representatives, a position soon to come within his grasp.

Mr. Blaine was a delegate from Augusta to the Republican Convention which nominated Hon. Lot M. Morrill for Governor, in 1858. He became Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, and the State platform was drafted by his vigorous pen. This pronounced and advanced platform became the key to the National platform of 1860. It declared hostility to the insulting claims of the slave-holding aristocracy; upheld education and the dignity of labor; refused to recognize the doctrines of the Democratic oligarchy that the laboring classes were in a mixed condition of ignorance and barbarism; called upon the people of the Free States to repudiate the aristocratic pretences to govern by stolen right; denounced the administration of James Buchanan as unworthy of confidence; and depreciated the era of extravagance and corruption which Democracy had brought about.

During the session of the Legislature in the winter of 1859-60, there was a joint convention of the Republican members of both branches, together with the Republican State Committee, for the purpose of selecting eight delegates to the Republican National Convention, to be held in Chicago, July 29, 1860. At this Convention Mr. Blaine drafted and presented the resolutions, which were adopted.

At the very outset of the war, Gov. Washburn who was Chief Magistrate of the State, committed to Mr. Blaine's hands many important trusts which His Excellency was pleased to state in a letter to Mr. Blaine, "were discharged with energy and promptitude, and I believe with the most scrupulous fidelity to the interests of the State."

Mr. Blaine made strong and earnest speeches enjoining upon every lover of his country and its institutions to stand by the government in the pending struggle for self-preservation. He contributed largely of his means for the equipment of volunteers who left their homes to defend their country, and in aid to their families.

During the progress of the rebellion, no other man in Maine did more in aiding the State authorities to meet the requirements of the General Government than Mr. Blaine. Animated by the spirit of his Revolutionary ancestors, his efforts were unremitting in keeping alive the fires of patriotism through the darkest days of that trying ordeal through which the Nation passed, and in raising such material aid as the State needed and must have to meet her share of the responsibility that the extraordinary exigency required. The gravity of the occasion he fully realized, but never for a moment was his faith shaken in the ultimate preservation of the Union by a loyal people.

The honor of opening the National Republican campaign in Maine, in 1860, fell to Mr. Blaine, and the occasion was rendered the more important by the fact that he then spoke in connection with Hon. Israel Washburn, who was the Republican candidate for Governor. The opening occurred at Farmington, on July 4th. Mr. Blaine spoke as follows on National issues:

"I sincerely thank you, Mr. Chairman and Republicans of Franklin County, for the honor you have conferred upon me by your invitation to join our distinguished candidate for Governor in formally opening the State and Presidential campaigns in Maine. We have had the great pleasure of hearing Mr. Washburn, and I am sure we all feel that in his eloquent and exhaustive speech on the leading National issue he has left little for other speakers to say. If his speech made one impression upon my mind stronger than any other, it was that we do a wrong to our State and to the Nation to withdraw him from Congress to make him Governor of the State, when his services in the House of Representatives had so fully ripened him for the closing battles of that conflict for free territory, in which, for the past ten years, he has borne so conspicuous and so honorable a part. But it is now too late to change, and we must content ourselves with the belief that if we lose a brilliant Representative in Congress we shall secure an equally brilliant Governor, and that Mr. Rice, who is nominated as his successor in the National field, will faithfully uphold the principles which Mr. Washburn's long career has so fitly illustrated.

"It is interesting and important for us, at the initial point of the National campaign, to see how the events of four years have deepened and broadened the issue upon which the Republican party was organized, and how that party, growing and strengthening in all the States of the North, has enlarged the creed of principles which first constituted its political faith. The vote for Frémont, in 1856, though the party had been hastily summoned and was

imperfectly organized, was yet so large as to give a wholesome fright to the pro-slavery leaders of the South. Mr. Buchanan carried his own State by only two thousand votes in the October election, and if the majority had been two thousand the other way the coalition ticket of Frémont and Fillmore electors would probably have been chosen. In that event the election would have been thrown into the House of Representatives, and either Mr. Buchanan or Mr. Fillmore would have been chosen President through the same process that gave John Quincy Adams the Executive Chair in 1825. Though it might not have deprived the Democracy of the Chief Magistracy. it would have been more than equivalent to an ordinary defeat between parties. Even as it resulted, the gathered hosts of the free North so alarmed the leaders of Southern opinion that something was imperatively demanded to strengthen their position.

"The Nation did not wait long to learn the policy and purpose of the pro-slavery leaders. The Republicans had already once gained control of the popular branch of Congress, and the Democracy were afraid that the same result might be repeated. That implied the possibility of defeat at the polls in a Presidential election; and with the Exenutive and Legislative departments of the Government. against them, they feared for the fate of slavery. In this dilemma they had recourse to the National Judiciary to, strengthen them in their position. So assured were theen that a decision of great value to the pro-slavery intend was impending, that Mr. Buchanan ventured to Br of it in his Inaugural Address as "soon to be an the Sout People did not realize at the time the grow fat course. of this reference, but its full measure was see If the Dox long after, the Dred Scott decision was are the dangerthe Supreme Court. This decision, which

lated to the freedom of a single man (whose name the case bears), was so broadened by the Court, in its obiter dicta, as to take in all existing political disputes on the slavery question. The Missouri Compromise of 1820 was declared to have been unconstitutional, and its flagitious repeal in 1854 was thus upheld as a patriotic duty on the part of Congress. As far as a judicial edict could do it, slavery was strengthened everywhere by that decision, the whole National domain was opened to its ingress, and no power was left, either among the settlers in the Territories or in the Congress of the United States, to exclude it. The belief with many who are entitled to know, is that the "opinions" of the Court which take in matter beyond the record of the case, would never have been delivered had not the supposed political necessities of the South demanded this judicial declaration of the extreme doctrine of Mr. Calhoun.

"The Southern men have found, however, that they reckoned without their host when they supposed that the people of the United States, on political questions of this character, would give up a contest that involves freedom for a continent, on the mere sideway opinions of five proslavery judges. The contest goes on; and it has been deepened by the atrocious efforts to compel Kansas to enter the Union under the fraudulent constitution made at Lecompton, against the will and the wish of her people.

Paither the abuse of power by the President nor the perpoint on of justice by the Supreme Court can call a halt in four yeattle for free territory. It is destined to go forward; which the lements which the pro-slavery leaders have relied party, growttling it are but acting as incentives to greater North, has a more determined purpose on the part of the constituted its a Northern States. The cry of "sectional-1856, though the part of the campaign thunder of the Dem-

ocratic party, has lost its force; for the people measure its meaning and are ready, in their own phrase, to unite in defense of freedom when Southern men combine in defense of slavery.

"In the election of 1856 the opponents of the Democratic party were divided. I do not say that, even had they been united, they could have triumphed at that time. But this year, in the good Providence of God, the division comes in the Democratic party itself; and we can felicitate ourselves that the strife between Mr. Douglas and Mr. Breckinridge will in all probability give the election to the Republicans of the United States, and that Abraham Lincoln, if he lives, will be the next President. I do not in this contest reckon Mr. Bell of Tennessee (who, with Mr. Edward Everett for Vice-President, is running as the representative of the old Whig remnant) as of any special force. We have no occasion to discuss him or his platform, and we can safely endure the little diversion which, through old Whig influences, he may make from the Republican standard in the North, in consideration of the additional confusion he will bring to the Democratic party in the South. It is in fact probable that upon the whole the Republicans will gain by the candidacy of Bell and Everett, because the majority of their Northern supporters, if the ticket were withdrawn, would cast their votes directly for Mr. Douglas.

"Nor should we listen for a single moment to those Democrats who for the first time in their lives find themselves in a quarrel with the pro-slavery chieftains, and are asking popular support for Douglas as the leader of the real revolt against the dangerous element of the South. If there were no other argument against that course, its utter impracticability would be conclusive. If the Douglas men are in earnest and wish to smite the dangerous

and aggressive element which is massing itself under the lead of Breckenridge for pro-slavery victory, or for disunion in the event of failure, they should unite in support of Mr. Lincoln. Either Mr. Lincoln will be chosen, or the election will be thrown into the House of Representatives; and no man who measures the working of political forces to-day can view that result with any feeling other than one of dread. Certainly no Northern man ought to cast his vote in a way that admits of the possibility of such a raffle for the Presidency as would sacrifice all principle and involve the danger that may be connected with a contest of that character.

"If the Republicans of Maine need any further stimulus to rally for Lincoln with even more enthusiasm than they rallied for Frémont, four years ago, it will be found in the fact that our own distinguished fellow-citizen, Hannibal Hamlin, is the candidate for Vice President. In these great National uprisings for freedom, it seems to be Mr. Hamlin's fortune to hold prominent place and wield prominent influence. It was his great victory as candidate for Governor four years ago, that gave impulse to the popular wave for Frémont, and it is his presence and his influence to-day which, with that of our distinguished candidate for Governor, will give increased volume and increased force to the voice of Maine in September.

"There is another great step forward which the Republican party has taken in its National platform of this year, —reaffirmed with special emphasis in the State platform of Maine. In 1856 the issue was entirely confined to resistance to the aggressions of slavery, but since that date the financial revulsions which have led to such distress in the country have turned men's minds to the fallacy and the failure of the free-trade policy which for the last four-

teen years has been adopted and enforced by the Democratic party. The prosperity which was said to have been caused by the tariff of 1846 has received a rude shock. and three years ago a disastrous panic swept over the country leaving all business embarrassed, if not prostrate. For several years prior to that date, every man who believed in the policy of protection had been ridiculed and taunted and pointed to the indisputable proof of the advantage of free trade to be found in the generally prosperous condition of the country. The cry in favor of the tariff of 1846 was so boisterous that no opponent of it could even have a hearing. Those who still held firmly to the policy of protection and in the belief that the repeal of the tariff of 1842 was a great National blunder, were silenced, if not scorned, in the arena of popular discussion.

"It was in vain that Protectionists attempted to prove that the period of prosperity under that tariff (from 1846 to-1856) was due to a series of what might be termed fortuitous circumstances—all involving good fortune to the United States and ill fortune to other nations.

-First, At the very moment of the enactment of the tariff of 1846, the war with Mexico broke out. The result was that more than one hundred thousand men were called from the pursuits of industry and enlisted in the ranks of our army, while other thousands, leaving their usual callings, were set to work on the production of war material. The first result was a deficiency in the supply of laborers and a large advance in wages. In the course of two years the Government paid out on account of the war, nearly one hundred and fifty millions of dollars, thus stimulating trade in almost every department.

-Second, Midway in the Mexican war (in 1847) a distressing famine occurred in Ireland, which, with short crops in other parts of Europe, created and unprecedented demand for American bread-stuffs. This, of course, raised the price of grain to high figures, and carried large profit and ready money to the door of every farmer in the land.

"—Third, The Mexican war had scarcely closed, the Irish famine had only been partially relieved, when (1848-49) tumults and revolutions occurred in nearly every European kingdom. The direct result was the disorganization of industry and the depression of trade all over the continent. Demand for our bread-stuffs continued, and the competition of European fabrics was so reduced that every form of industry in the United States was stimulated to fill the demands of the home market.

"-Fourth, The convulsions of Europe were still in progress when another stimulus was added to our prosperity. Vast deposits of gold were found in California, and from 1849 onward, for several years, the trade of the country in all departments was quickened to a degree never before known. The demand for shipping to carry passengers to the land of gold, and supplies to sustain them, gave new life to our navigation interests and filled the ocean with clipper ships that had no rivals for speed or beauty. The rapid additions to our gold currency, immediately followed by an expansion of our paper currency, gave such an abundance of money as had never before been dreamed of. The inevitable result was a rapid rise of prices for labor and for all commodities, and speculation and money-making were the order of the day. Importations from Europe were enormously large, and in settling the balances we followed the theory of the Freetrade School, in regarding our gold as simply a commodity, to be shipped out of the country as freely as iron or lead or wheat or corn.

"- Fifth, In 1854, before the craze of speculation had time to cool, another great event came to pass which still further increased our prosperity. It really seemed as if the whole world had conspired to have every accident and every calamity happen for our benefit. When our prosperity was already great and growing, the three leading nations of Europe-as nations were then ranked -Great Britain, Russia and France-rushed into a tremendous war which lasted until 1856. In its progress the Crimean struggle absorbed the energies of the nations engaged, removed to a large extent the mercantile marine of England and France from peaceful pursuits and gave still greater expansion to our own navigation, stopped the flow of grain from Russia, and gave every opportunity for trade and commerce and great profit to the citizens of the United States.

"But this singular combination of good fortune to us and ill fortune to others could not continue indefinitely. Prosperity built upon the calamities of other nations has a most insecure and undesirable foundation. The three great European powers made peace, the Baltic and the Black Sea were thrown open for the exportation of Russian bread-stuffs, English and French ships that had been engaged in war service were at once and everywhere competing at low prices for the freight of the world, shipments of gold from California began to decrease. The wheel of fortune had turned, and the consequence was that the portentous superstructure of credit, of speculation, which had been based upon what the gamblers would have termed our extraordinary run of luck, suddenly came to an end when the luck ceased. The panic of 1857 was the closing chapter in that extraordinary ten years in which the political economists of the Democratic party were constantly mistaking effect for cause, were constantly

blinded to the actual condition of trade and to the real sources of our prosperity, were constantly teaching to the people of the United States spurious theories, were constantly deceiving themselves by fallacies, and were con-

stantly drawing conclusions from false premises.

"Notwithstanding all the gold received from California, it was found that we had not enough in the hour of panic to keep the banks, even of the National Metropolis, from immediate suspension. Enterprises all over the country were checked; labor was thrown into confusion and distress, for the last three years men have been working for less remuneration than has been paid to honest toil at any period within the preceding quarter of a century. The policy of free trade, as embodied in the tariff of 1846, had, in ten years, caused such a large importation of foreign goods that, besides all our shipments of produce and all the earnings of our commercial marine, it drained us of four hundred millions of gold to make good the balance of trade against us. I mean four hundred millions of gold, net, over and above the amount which in the currents of trade was occasionally shipped to us from Europe. The bankers of New York, the great majority of whom had sustained the free-trade policy, were among the first to ask extension on their obligations. They could pay in their own bills, but the specie which should have been in their vaults had been sold by them for shipment abroad, to make good the balance which their favorite tariff of 1846 had constantly accumulated against us in Europe.

"These lessons, fellow-citizens, are serious, and the Republican National Convention has appreciated their meaning. That convention recalls us, in its platform, to the policy of adjusting our revenues so as to protect labor, encourage home manufactures, create a balance of trade in our favor, and keep our gold at home. While fighting against the admission of servile toil of the black man in the new Territories of the continent, Republicans will fight also for liberal wages to the toiling white men of the old States of the Union. This position is the logical sequence, the logical necessity of the Republican party. An anti-slavery party is by the irresistible force of its principles a protection party, for it is based upon the rights of labor for the white man and the black man alike.

"I do not doubt, Mr. Chairman, that I dwell on this new plank in our Republican platform at greater length and with keener personal interest than would any of the gentlemen who are to follow me. I was a college-boy in my native State when the tariff of 1846 was enacted, and I can remember how profound and how angry was the agitation throughout Pennsylvania while the bill was pending, how bitter and intense was the popular indignation when it was finally passed. I say popular indignation, because the two parties were not divided on the question of Protection. The supporters of Mr. Polk in that State in the contest of 1844 cried as loudly for the tariff of '42 as did the supporters of Mr. Clay.

"The peculiar bitterness in Pennsylvania, the acrimony, the sense of betrayal which they felt, came from the fact that the tatiff of '46 was passed through the Senate by the casting vote of the Vice-President, George M. Dallas, a distinguished Pennsylvanian, who had been associated with Mr. Polk on the Democratic ticket for the purpose of rallying the State against the overwhelming prestige of Mr. Clay as a Protectionist.

"In the hour of trial Mr. Dallas failed his friends. Nor was Mr. Dallas the only man of Pennsylvania blood and birth who disappointed the expectation of his State. Mr.

Buchanan was Secretary of State in Mr. Polk's Cabinet at the time, and though he had shown his belief in Protection by voting for the tariff of 1842, he exerted no influence from his high place to stay its repeal, but rather co-operated with the Secretary of the Treasury, Robert J. Walker, another Pennsylvanian by birth, in his zealous work for the tariff of 1846. Three Pennsylvania Democrats, therefore, stand in different degrees responsible for the tariff of 1846, and that fact will prove of immense value to the Republicans in their pending struggle for political power in that State.

"When Mr. Buchanan ran for President four years ago, the bubble of fancied prosperity from Free Trade had not burst, and he was enabled, though, as I have already said, by the closest of votes, to hold his State. But there has been a revulsion—possibly it may be a revolution—of public sentiment on this question in Pennsylvania. A distinguished citizen of that State, whom I met at the Republican National Convention in May, told me that a very large proportion—I think he said two-thirds—of all the iron establishments had gone through some form of insolvency or assignment under the tariff of 1846, especially within the last three years, when the Free-Traders went one step farther in the amendment to the tariff in 1857, just preceding the panic.

"Let us then do our full duty in Maine on both questions that are included in the National platform. The larger, grander issue of freedom for the Territories, which concerns "the rights of human nature," is in perfect harmony with the industrial issue upon which I have dwelt. Both can stand together, and if they do not, both will fall together."

Mr. Blaine was active and earnest throughout the entire campaign of 1860, and perhaps contributed as much as

any other man in the nation to the triumph of those principles which distinguished the Republican party from its adversaries, and realized the hopes of every lover of freedom in the election of Abraham Lincoln. The year 1862 saw the close of his career as a State legislator. His four terms in the General Assembly of his adopted State had greatly enlarged his powers as a thinker and deliberate spokesman. His influence kept even pace with his knowledge, and both grew rapidly. Every test to which he was put was met with ability and fortitude, and every conquest added to his confidence and opened fresh possibilities. He became commanding in the domain of thought and speech, indispensable in the field of labor and organization, necessary amid the vicissitudes which war entailed on his party, his State and the Nation.



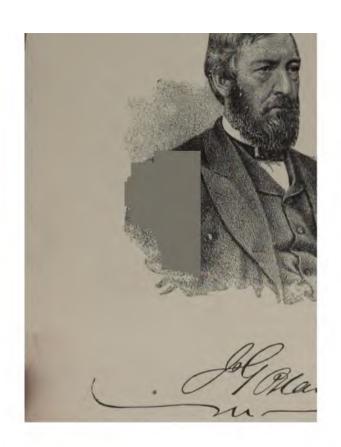
CHAPTER VI.

IN THE THIRTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS.

In the year 1862, Anson P. Morrill, who had served a term in the Kennebec, or Third Maine, Congressional District, declined to be a candidate for re-election. This left the field open to all competitors, and there was but little hesitation in making a choice. Even before the nominating convention met, all signs pointed to the nomination of James G. Blaine. The times were perilous, the hearts of the people were agitated by events connected with the progress of the war, the constituency of the Third District were intelligent and intensely loyal. They demanded a strong, earnest, aggressive man, and they felt that Blaine had been sufficiently proved to fill their ideal of a Representative in Congress. When the Congressional Convention met at Waterville, on July 8th, 1862, Mr. Blaine received a unanimous nomination. He accepted the honor in an appropriate and eloquent speech. as follows :-

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention,—I am here to acknowledge with sincere thanks the honor which you have conferred upon me by selecting me as your candidate for Representative in the Thirty-eighth Congress. The unanimity of your action is to me one of its most embarrassing features, for it implies a confidence in my fitness for the position which I myself may well distrust. I can only pledge my best intentions and my most earnest efforts to serve this constituency faithfully and





zealously, should the nomination this day made be ratified at the polls.

"The Kennebec District—the name which this county has always given to the Congressional District in which it has been included at each decennial apportionment—has established a character at home and abroad which is difficult to live up to. The distinguished gentleman who now represents it (and whose voluntary retirement gives you this opportunity to place me under deep obligation by the bestowment of your confidence) has won great and important victories on hard-fought political fields, and, in connection with the present Vice-President of the United States, has done more than any other living man to overthrow the Democratic party of Maine. He retires from public life full of honors, and with the unstinted confidence and attachment of the Republicans of the entire State.

"But long before Mr. Morrill's participation in political affairs, the old Kennebec District had won great prominence in Congress by the ability, the ripe culture, the superb talent for debate exhibited by two gentlemen who represented it from 1825 to 1841—Peleg Sprague and George Evans. I see before me gray-haired men whose political activity is stirred afresh by the memory of the contests they waged in this district under the leadership of those young men—for each was in his early thirties when called to lead the National Republican forces against the Democratic dynasty of Jackson and Van Buren.

"Nor should I fail to name the able editor, the sincere friend, the judicious adviser, the upright man, Luther Severance, who after promoting the elections of Mr. Sprague and Mr. Evans with unsurpassed activity and zeal, was rewarded with succession to the seat to which they had given eminent distinction. If you will pardon

the personal reference, I regarded it as the chief honor of my life, before you crowned me with your favor to-day, that I followed Luther Severance, longo intervallo, in the editorship of the Kennebec Journal, which he had founded and nurtured, and to which he had given character and prominence throughout the State. There have perhaps been more brilliant men in Maine than Luther Severance, but not one who ever enjoyed the public confidence in a higher degree or repaid that confidence more amply by an honorable and stainless life.

"It is not wise for candidates to indulge in profuse promises. The Representative must be tested by his acts rather than by his professions. I deem it my duty, however to say that if I am called to a seat in Congress, I shall go there with a determination to stand heartily and unreservedly by the Administration of Abraham Lincoln. In the success of that Administration, under the good Providence of God, rests, I solemnly believe, the fate of the American Union. If we cannot subdue the Rebellion through the agency of the Administration, there is no other power given under Heaven among men to which we can appeal. Hence I repeat, that I shall conceive it to be my duty, as your Representative, to be the unswerving adherent of the policy and measures which the President in his wisdom may adopt. The case is one, in the present exigency, where men loyal to the Union cannot divide. The President is Commander-in-Chief of our land and naval forces, and while he may be counseled he must not be opposed. It is well to recall the lesson of that adage which teaches that one bad general is better than two good ones. Let us then discourage divisions and encourage harmony.

"In this way alone, gentlemen, can we preserve that unity of action among the loyal people so essential to the maintenance of our Nationality. That unity once broken, we can have no well-founded hope of success. We hear a great deal of talk about the base of operations in the war; at one time on the Rappahannock River, at another on the York, and at still another on the James. But there is one base of operations stronger than all these, and that is on the united hearts and the united action of the loyal people in these States. That once destroyed, all other bases of operation are gone.

"The great object with us all is to subdue the Rebellion-speedily, effectually, finally. In our march to that end we must crush all intervening obstacles. If slavery, or any other "institution," stands in the way, it must be removed. Perish all things else, the National life must be saved. My individual convictions of what may be needful are perhaps in advance of those entertained by some, and less radical than those conscientiously held by others. Whether they are the one or the other, however, I do not wish to see an attempt made to carry them out until it can be done by an Administration sustained by the resistless energy of the loyal masses. I think myself those masses are rapidly adopting the idea that to smite the Rebellion its malignant cause must be smitten, and that to preserve the Union all agencies willing to work for its preservation must be freely and energetically used. That, I believe, is the conclusion which, in due time, the Nation will reach. Perhaps we are slow in coming to it, and it may be that we are even now receiving our severe chastisement for not more readily accepting the teachings of Providence. But it was the tenth plague which softened the heart of Pharoah and caused him to let the oppressed go free. That plague was the sacrifice of the first-born in each household. With the sanguinary battle-fields of Virginia whose records of death we are just reading, I ask you in the language of another, "How far off are we from that day when our households will have paid that penalty to offended Heaven?"

After a vigorous campaign, Mr. Blaine was elected by a majority of 3,422 votes. The Thirty-eighth Congress met in its first session, on Dec. 7, 1863. The House organized by electing Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, Speaker. The Senate contained thirty-six Republicans and fourteen Democrats; and the House 102 Republicans and eightythree Democrats. Though only thirty-three years old, Mr. Blaine soon began to make his mark, and it required no ordinary ability to gain notice as a young member in a body which numbered such men as Elihu B. Washburne, Owen Lovejoy, George W. Julian, Godlove S. Orth, Schuyler Colfax, James F. Wilson, Wm. B. Allison, John A. Kasson, Alexander H. Rice, Henry L. Dawes, William Windom, F. P. Blair, Jr., James Brooks, Erastus Corning, Reuben E. Fenton, Francis Kernan, George H. Pendleton, Robert C. Schenck, James A. Garfield, Samuel J. Randall, William D. Kelley, Thaddeus Stevens, G. W. Scofield, and many other equally distinguished.

With a full knowledge of the situation, he first established a reputation as an industrious and able committeeman, and he found abundant opportunity for this as a member of the committee on Post-offices and Post Roads, Committee on Appropriations, Committee on Rules, and several of the Military Committees. The session was prolific of war measures, on most of which party lines were rigorously drawn. The most bitterly contested measure was the repeal of the Fugitive slave law of 1850. The various Revenue Bills of course awakened the hostility of all who were opposed to the prosecution of the war, and none came in for a larger share opposition than the In-

come Tax Law. The amended Tariff Act of June 30, 1864, also elicited warm debate. Upon all these leading measures, Mr. Blaine voted and acted in accord with the prevailing sentiment of the country, and in favor of sustaining its institutions.

At an hour when the situation was particularly dark, and when anxiety as to the ability of the nation to carry its load of present and prospective debt brooded everywhere, Mr. Blaine raised his voice in what may be termed his first studied forensic effort in Congress. It proved to be a timely and able effort, one well calculated to drive the clouds of despondency and to assure the nation. Its delivery and the subsequent discussions led the Hon. Thaddeus Stevens, one of the best judges of men in the House, to say that Blaine, of Maine, had shown a greater aptitude and ability for the higher walks of public life than any young man who had come to congress during his period of service. Such was the value attached to this effort, that it was reprinted as a campaign document in the National campaign of 1864, and several hundred thousand copies distributed. It was delivered on April 21, 1864, the matter before the House being the assumption of the State war debts by the Federal government, and the ability of the latter to pay its own war debts. It reads as follows :-

"MR. SPEAKER:—The question of most engrossing interest to the loyal people of the United States, to day, is whether we are able to furnish the means of carrying on the war, and to sustain the load of debt which the close of hostilities will leave upon us. I propose to show by some simple facts and figures that we are abundantly equal to the great trial, and that in bearing it we are assuming far less responsibility, in proportion to our wealth, population

and prospective development, than has been successfully assumed in the past by another great nation, and even by ourselves at the organization of the Government.

"In estimating the debt with which we are to be encumbered, it is not wise, in my judgment, to adopt a too sanguine anticipation of the speedy close of the war. Many gentlemen, whose opinions the public are accustomed to respect, predict the entire suppression of the rebellion within the ensuing summer. For myself I cannot indulge in so pleasing a prospect. Whatever false reckonings we may have made in the past in regard to the shortness of the war, I have latterly been of those who believe that the leading conspirators of the South intend at all events to prolong the struggle until the approaching contest for the Presidency is ended. They have a hope—baseless enough, it seems to us-that in some way they are to be benefitted by the results of that election, and hence they will hold out until it is decided, with a view, indeed, of affecting its decision. Let us not then deceive ourselves with regard to the speedy reduction of the enormous expenditures to which we are now subjected. It is wiser for us to look soberly at facts as they are, and not beguile ourselves with rose-colored views of facts as we wish they might be. Let us make our calculations in regard to the national debt, therefore, on the assumption that the war will last until July, 1865, instead of closing in July, 1864, as has been so confidently assumed by many. Should it come to a termination earlier, our error will be the happiest feature in our entire calculation.

"Heretofore the estimates of the Secretary of the Treasury in regard to the amount of the national debt at any given period have proved surprisingly accurate. The safest feature of his estimates is seen in the fact that he has in no instance understated the prospective amount of

indebtedness, as actually ascertained when we reached the date to which the estimate was made. For instance, in December, 1862, Mr. Chase stated that the debt, July 1, 1863, would be \$1,122,297,403.24. When the time arrived. the debt amounted to \$1,098,793,181.37, or some twentyfour millions less than the Secretary had estimated. With fuller data for reckoning than when he made the calculation just referred to, the Secretary now estimates that if the war shall continue so long, at its current rate of cost, our debt in July, 1865, will reach the large sum of \$2,231,-935,190.37. To this vast amount let us add \$150,000,000 to be incurred by refunding to the loyal States their war expenses, and \$150,000,000 more to cover unforeseen expenses in closing up the great contest, and you will have a grand total of twenty-five hundred millions of dollars, the annual interest and ultimate redemption of which must be provided for by the nation. Besides contracting this enormous debt, we shall have expended all the current receipts of the Treasury in conducting the war, amounting in the aggregate, for the four years, to more than five hundred millions, making thus a gross outlay of over three thousand millions as the cost of subduing the rebellion-an expenditure of two millions per day from the inception to the close of the contest.

"Let us see how, by the experience of our own country in a former generation, as well as by the experience of another great people, we may hope to meet this burden with confidence and courage—bearing it without oppression when it is heaviest, and coming in good season to its total discharge, or by attainment of superior strength making it so light as to be practically disregarded.

"At the organization of our Government in 1789, the entire population, free and slave, was under four millions, scattered along the seaboard from the St. Croix to the

St. Mary's, not fifty thousand in all living one hundred miles distant from the flow of the Atlantic tide. Facilities for intercommunication were greatly restricted, manufactures and the arts were in feeble infancy, agriculture was rude and not highly-remunerative, because commerce, its handmaid, was languishing and waiting to be quickened to enterprise and vigor. The entire valuation of the thirteen States, according to the weight of authority, did not exceed six hundred millions of dollars-three hundred millions less than the valuation of Massachusetts to-day, and not one half so great as that of Pennsylvania. Property at that time was ill adapted to bear taxation, profits were small, and to the political economist, measuring the condition and capacity of the country, it seemed utterly unable to carry a debt of any considerable magnitude. And yet our ancestors did not hesitate to assume the burden of ninety millions of dollars-more than oneseventh of all the property they owned. Mr. Jefferson, who was the most distrustful of all the statesmen of that day in regard to the ability of the nation to sustain the the load, was yet willing to say that it could be easily borne if our annual increase of property could maintain an average of five per cent-then the most sanguine estimate which any one dared to place on the future growth of the country. Had we realized only the ratio of increase assumed by Mr. Jefferson, our wealth in 1860 would have been twenty-seven hundred millions instead of sixteen thousand millions. Upon Mr. Jefferson's assumed basis of increase, the debt would never have been oppressive; but with the rate of growth actually realized, the country paid the interest on the debt and accumulated a fund for its redemption with such ease that the people never felt they were taxed. I hope to show that our debt at the close of this war will be relatively lighter than the debt which our Revolutionary fathers thus assumed, and proceeded so early and so easily to discharge.

Look also at the case of Great Britain. At the close of her prolonged struggle with Napoleon in 1815, the national debt of that kingdom amounted to £861,000,000 sterling, or forty-three hundred millions of dollars; and for readier comparison I shall speak of her debt in dollars rather than in pounds. Her entire population at that time was less than twenty millions, and the valuation of her property for purposes of taxation was about nine thousand five hundred millions of dollars. She owed, indeed, nearly half of all she possessed. Her population was less than two-thirds of what ours is to-day. Her entire property was not three-fifths of what ours was according to the census of 1860, while her debt was eighteen hundred millions of dollars greater than ours will be in July, 1865. In contracting this debt she was compelled to sell her bonds at the most enormous sacrifice. From 1792 to 1815 her debt was increased three thousand millions of dollars; yet in exchange for this amount of bonds she received in money but \$1,730,000,000, thus submitting to a discount of \$1,270,000,000. In other words, England, during the twenty-three years of Continental war, only realized on an average for the whole period, \$100 in money in exchange for \$173 of her bonds. This, be it remembered, was the average for the whole time. As the contest waxed desperate, her sacrifices became desperate in proportion, and the money which enabled her to fight the decisive campaign of Waterloo was obtained by selling her bonds to the European bankers at less than fifty cents on the dollar. Compared with this our sacrifices on the national securities have thus far been light, not averaging, from the inception of the war to the present day, with all elements of expenditure fairly

estimated, more than from twenty to twenty-five per cent, reckoning on the gold basis.

"To meet their enormous debt, the British people had nothing but the commerical and industrial resourses of the United Kingdom, whose whole area is not double that of the single State of Missouri. They had a population of but twenty millions, as already stated, subject to no increase from immigration, and growing in half a century no more than we have grown during the last decade. Yet on this restricted area, the enterprise and energy of the British people have increased their property, until it is valued at thirty-three thousand millions of dollars; and in defiance of the large expenditure resulting from several costly wars since 1815, they have actually reduced their debt some three hundred millions of dollars. Their steady progress in wealth under their large debt is comprehended in the statement that the average property per capita in 1815 was less than five hundred dollars, and in 1861 was about eleven hundred dollars. In 1815 some twenty-five per centum of all the earnings and income of the people was absorbed in taxation, and in 1861 less than ten per centum was taken for the same object. In 1815 the proportion of taxes per head for the whole people exceeded seventeen dollars, and in 1861 it had fallen below ten dollars.

These brief details of British experience show how a great debt, without being absolutely reduced to any considerable extent, becomes relatively lighter by the increased capacity to bear it. The wealth per capita of the entire population in a period of forty-six years has more than doubled; the aggregate property of the realm has more than trebled; and all this on a fixed area of one hundred and twenty thousand square miles, and with a population increasing at the slow rate of only one per cent

per annum. If such results can be wrought out by a kindred people, against such obstacles and hindrances, what may we not hope to accomplish under the auspicious circumstances of our own Nation!

In the light of the national experiences we have been glancing at, we may clearly read our own great future. It is not, indeed, a matter of surmise or speculative inquiry, but of well-founded and confident calculation—a calculation whose only error will be in falling short of results actually to be realized. The war closing in July, 1865, will leave us in this condition: a nation numbering some thirty-three millions of people, owning over sixteen thousand millions of property, and carrying a debt of twenty-five hundred millions of dollars. The proportion between debt and property will be just about the same that it was when the Union was formed, while the ratio of our advance and the largely enhanced productiveness of agricultural, manufacturing and commercial pursuits gives the present generation an advantage that renders the debt far less burdensome at the very outset. If the Revolutionary debt became in a very brief period so light as to be unnoticed, why may we not, with a vastly accelerated ratio of progress, assume a similar auspicious result with regard to the debt we are now contracting? Were our future advance in wealth and population to be no more rapid than Great Britain's has been since 1815, we should in the present century have a population of fortyfive million souls, and a property amounting to fifty thousand millions of dollars. Even upon this ratio of progress our entire debt would cease to be felt as a burden. But upon the increase of population and development of wealth to be so confidently anticipated, the debt would be so small, in comparison with the total resources of the nation, as to become absolutely inconsiderable.

All that I have said has been based on the supposition of the debt remaining at a fixed sum, the country simply paying the interest. As a matter of fact, however, it is perfectly obvious that in the progress and prosperity of the future, one of our first acts will be to provide for the gradual but absolute redemption of the principal. That this will be consummated without oppressively adding to the annual burden of taxes may be inferred with certainty from a slight examination of our capacity to make increased payments proportioned to our increased amount of consolidated wealth. The time of redemption will depend wholly on the will of the tax-payers, but it is evident that the condition of the country may justify its being done as rapidly as Mr. Hamilton proposed to redeem the debt which he funded in 1790. The period assigned by him was thirty-five years, and so well based were his calculations, that the entire debt, augmented largely and unexpectedly as it was by the war of 1812, was paid in forty-four years from the date of funding; and in 1834 the United States found itself owing but thirty-seven thousand dollars.

To those who may be disposed to doubt the future progress of our country according to the ratio assumed, a few familiar considerations in respect to our resources may be recalled with advantage. We occupy a territory at least three million square miles in extent, within a fraction as large as the whole of Europe. Our habitable and cultivable area is, indeed, larger than that of all Europe, to say nothing of the superior fertility and general productiveness of our soil. So vast is our extent, that, though we may glibly repeat its numerical measure, we find it most difficult to form any just conception of it. The State of Texas alone is equal in area to the Empire of France and the Kingdom of Portugal united; and yet

these two monarchies support a population of forty millions, while Texas has but six hundred thousand inhabitants. Or, if we wish for a comparative measure nearer home, let me state that the area of Texas is greater than that of the six New England States, together with New York and New Jersey and Pennsylvania and Ohio and Indiana combined. California, the second State in size, is equal in extent to the Kingdom of Spain and the Kingdom of Belgium together. The land that is still in the hands of Government, not sold or even pre-empted, amounts to a thousand millions of acres-an extent of territory thirteen times as large as Great Britian, and equal in area to all the kingdoms of Europe, Russia and Turkey alone excepted. Mere territorial extent does not of course imply future greatness, though it is one requisite to it. In our case it is so vast an element that we may be pardoned for dwelling on it with emphasis and iteration.

Combined with this great expanse of territory we have facilities for the acquisition and consolidation of wealthvaried, magnificent, and immeasurable. Our agricultural resources, bounteous beyond estimate, are, by the application of mechanical skill and labor-saving machinery, receiving a development each decade, which a century ir the past would have failed to secure, and which a tury in the future will place beyond all present ; computation-giving us so far the lead in the tion of those staple articles essential to life ? tion that we become the arbiter of the we without aiming at the world's empire. Th of Illinois, cultivated to its capacity, can pr a crop of cereals as has ever been grown wil of the United States; while Texas, if pea as densely as Maryland even, could give an

of cotton larger than the largest that has ever been grown in all the Southern States combined. Our facilities for commerce and exchange, both domestic and foreignwho shall measure them? Our oceans, our vast inland seas, our marvelous flow of navigable streams, our canals, our network of railroads more than thirty thousand miles in extent,-these give us avenues of trade and channels of communication both natural and artificial, such as no other nation has ever enjoyed, and which tend to the production of wealth with a rapidity not to be measured by any standard of the past. The enormous field for manufacturing industry in all its complex and endless variety -with our raw material, our wonderful motive-power both by water and steam, our healthful climate, our cheap carriage, our home consumption, our foreign demandforeshadows a traffic whose magnitude and whose profit cannot now be estimated! Our mines of gold and silver and iron and copper and lead and coal, with their untold and unimaginable wealth, spread over millions of acres of territory, in the valley, on the mountain side, along rivers, vielding already a rich harvest, are destined vet to increase a thousand-fold, until their every-day treasures.

"familiar grown, few Shall realize Orient's fabled wealth."

at least trehend the entire circle of human enterprise—fraction as Commerce, Manufactures, Mining. They and cultivab an increase in property and population that Europe, to sahe most sanguine deductions of our census general produc as those tables are upon the ratios and that, though we progress in the past. They give into our we find it most be blessing of Almighty God, the power to The State of Tate as a nation. They hold out to us the

grandest future reserved for any people; and with this promise they teach us the lesson of patience, and render confidence and fortitude a duty. With such amplitude and affluence of resources, and with such a vast stake at issue, we should be unworthy of our lineage and our inheritance if we for one moment distrusted our ability to maintain ourselves a united people, with "one Country, one Constitution, one Destiny."

It was while the Amended Tariff Act of 1864 was pending at this session that Hon. S. S. Cox, of Ohio, in June, made a strong antagonistic speech in which he contrasted the protection given to the New England States and that given to Ohio. He designated the former as the "protected States" and spoke invidiously of them as a class. This speech fired Mr. Blaine and he immediately came to the defence of his State, in a way to rather astound the Ohio economist. He said:—

"It has grown to be a habit in this House, Mr. Chairman, to speak of New England as a unit, and in assailing the New England States to class them together, as has been done to-day, by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Cox) throughout his entire speech. In response to such attacks, each particular Representative from a New England State might feel called upon to defend the whole section. myself, sir, I take a different view. I have the hon represent in part one State, the State of Maine, and no more to do with the local and particular is the rest of New England than with any other Union. The other New England States sented on the floor, and it would be officiou in me to speak for them. But when the Ohio presumes to charge here, that the receives from Federal legislation any undu her local interests, he either ignorantly of

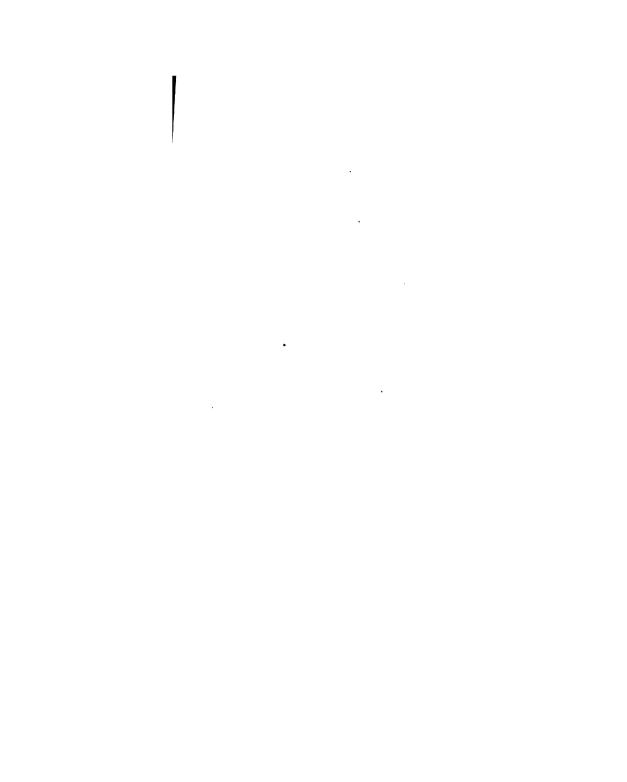
represents the case so grossly, that for ten minutes I will occupy the attention of this House in correcting him.

"If the gentleman from Ohio, who has given us such a learned lecture on political economy, were at all well posted in regard to the industrial pursuits of the people of Maine, he would know that two great leading interests are lumber and navigation. Now will the gentleman be good enough to tell the House what protection is extended by the laws of the United States to the lumber interest? At no time in our history, Sir, did lumber receive more than a feeble protection, and even that was taken away ten years ago, by the gentleman's political associates when they formed the reciprocity treaty, and then broke down the only business we had and threw in the whole lumber product of the British provinces to compete with us. And in regard to our great interest of navigation, will the gentleman be good enough to tell the House when a ship is launched from a Maine shipyard to engage in the commerce of the world, what protection is given by the United States laws against competition with foreign bottoms? Not a particle, Sir. These two great leading interests of my State derive no advantage from Federal legislation, while one of them has been very greatly damaged few the treaty-making power of the Federal Government. may brot hesitate to declare here to-day that the State of at least i upon her products and her manufacturers ten fraction as protection from Federal legislation, where and cultivab enty-five cents.

Europe, to so, it us take another view of this matter. The general product consumes every year five hundred thouthat, though we flour, all of which with a trifling exception we find it most the West; and a large proportion, I preThe State of T. State of Ohio. Now if the gentleman's of France and the would be very admirable for this country



BLAINE'S HOME AT AUGUSTA, ME.



to so change its domestic industry as to detach the six hundred thousand people of Maine from their present pursuits, and convert them into producers instead of consumers of breadstuffs and provisions. And let this change be made throughout all the manufacturing and commercial districts of the Union, converting the five millions consumers into producers of grain and meats, and the withering effect on the gentleman's State and on the entire West, would be too apparent to require a speech of an hour and a half to demonstrate it. Sir, I am tired of such talk as the gentleman from Ohio has indulged in to-day, and in so far as it includes my own State as being a pensioner upon the General Government, or dependent upon the bounty of any other State, I hurl back the charge with scorn. If there be a State in this Union that can say with truth that her Federal connection confers no special benefit of a material character, that State is Maine. And yet, Sir, no State is more attached to the Federal Union than Maine. Her affection and her pride are centered in the Union, and God knows she has contributed of her best blood and treasure without stint in supporting the war for the Union; and she will do so to the end. But she resents, and I, speaking for her, resent the insinuation that she derives any undue advantage from Federal legislation, or that she gets a single dollar she does not pay back.

"As compared with Ohio, whence this slander comes, I repeat, Sir, that Maine receives from Federal legislation no protection worth reckoning. The gentleman comes up here and classes the States of the Union as "protected" and "unprotected" States, and he puts my State in the "protected" class, while the most youthful page on this floor, who has studied Mitchell's Geography, knows that the gentleman's own State derives from the

General Government an immeasurably larger degree of protection for her local interests than the State of Maine does.

"I observe, Sir, that a great deal has been said recently in the other end of the Capitol in regard to the fishing bounties, a portion of which is paid to Maine. I have a word to say on that matter, and I may as well say it According to the records of the Navy Department, the State of Maine has sent into the naval service since the beginning of this war, six thousand skilled seamen, to say nothing of the trained and invaluable officers she has contributed to the same sphere of patriotic duty. For these men the State has received no credit whatever on her quotas for the army. If you will calculate the amount of bounty that would have been paid to that number of men had they enlisted in the army, instead of entering the navy as they did without bounty, you will find it will foot up a larger sum than Maine has received in fishing bounties for the past twenty years. Thus, Sir, the original proposition on which fishing bounties were granted-that they would build up a hardy and skillful class of mariners for the public defense in time of public danger—has been made good a hundred and a thousand-fold by the experience and developments of the war.

This much, Sir, I have felt called upon to say in response to the elaborate and carefully prepared speech of the gentleman from Ohio. I have spoken in vindication of a State that is as independent and as proud as any within the limits of the Union. I have spoken for a people as high-toned and as honorable as can be found in the wide world. I have spoken for a particular class—many of them my constituents—who are as manly and as brave as ever faced the ocean's storm. And so long, Sir, as I have a seat on this floor, the State of Maine shall not be

slandered by the gentleman from Ohio, or by gentlemen from any other State. "

Blaine was an ardent supporter of the theory that the slaves should be enlisted into the army the same as white men, and how he felt and what he said upon it can best be seen by the record of his controversy with Mallory of Kentucky.

Mr. Mallory said that the negroes not only did not behave with any gallantry, but they shrank and fled at first discharge of rebel musketry, and were sent back under the cover of a hill to Frankfort. And I tell you, Sir, when we come to find out the whole truth in relation to these black soldiers at Petersburg, we shall find that they distinguished themselves as highly and in somewhat the same way as did those negroes at Frankfort. My friend from Maine (Mr. Blaine) who seems to be listening so attentively, lived in Kentucky once, and knows the negro and his attributes, and he knows, if he will tell you what he knows, that they won't fight.

MR. BLAINE. "From a residence of five years in Kentucky I came to the conclusion from what I saw of the negroes that there was a great deal of fight in them."

MR. MALLORY. "Was the gentleman ever attacked by

MR. BLAINE. And if the gentleman had ever resided a little further South than Kentucky, on the sugar plantations of Louisiana and Mississippi, I would ask him if the perfect terror of those regions is not a runaway negro in the canebrakes?

MR. MALLORY. Well, Sir, he would do for a bugaboo, to frighten negro children and white children into propriety. "

MR. BLAINE. "Well, I know it to be a fact. The gentleman from Kentucky will acquit me of having had anything to do with getting up that dispatch, to which he has alluded."

MR. MALLORY. Certainly I do. "MR. BLAINE. "I have entire faith—and if I had not, I would never vote a dollar of appropriation for these negro troops-that well-trained and disciplined negroes will make good troops. I do not believe they will make as good troops as white men, and I do not value any white man's opinion who does think so. But I have one fact which I desire to state. Some three weeks ago I had a conversation with Mr. Charles Hale, of Boston, who has just set sail for Egypt, as Consul of the United States to that country, and where a year or two ago he spent some time. I asked him what was the connection between Egypt and the Sublime Porte. He said the Sublime Porte only exercised a sovereignty, so that when Turkey was engaged in war she could call upon Egypt for a contingent of troops; that she did that the last time during the Crimean war, and that Egypt furnished fifteen regiments of negroes of pure blood, unmixed from the foundation of the world, and as good troops as ever marched upon European soil.

MR. Cox. They were Abyssinians. [Laughter.]

MR. BLAINE. "They were Abyssinians whom my friend from Ohio found to be so surpassingly grand in their ecclesiastical attainments, and they are equally grand in their military attainments."

MR. MALLORY. "I will resume the floor."

MR. BLAINE. "One moment more. Those negroes, I am reminded here, were not Abyssinians. The Abyssinians are a race of a religious turn, but these were Nubians -naked, black Nubians. But enough of that. Now I

ask the gentleman from Kentucky if he believes that a thousand white men, of the Kentucky race—and I believe that no more gallant race than the Kentuckians ever lived—unarmed and undrilled, would have stood any better before the rebel musketry than the negroes themselves did?

Another interesting tilt in this same session, with the Hon. S. S. Cox, was concerning the return of slaves to their owners. It shows Blaine's peculiar expertness in debate, as well as his position on that question.

MR. BLAINE. I want to ask the gentleman from Ohio a question. I was not entirely satisfied with his response to the question propounded by the gentleman from California (Mr. Cole). The gentleman is lecturing the House upon his view of the Constitution, and the laws enacted under it, and therefore I presume he will not, in the slightest degree, refuse to give us his views upon any particular application of law. The laws of the United States now allow the enlistment of negroes, and there are a great many slaves of Union men in the service.

Mr. Cox. Come to the question; I want the question, but do not make it too sharp.

Mr. Blaine. Those negroes are regularly enlisted in the army, and I want to know if the gentleman would return them to their alleged owners? Do not dodge the question by saying that the commissioner will decide the case when it arises. Here is a negro in the ranks of the army, belonging to a loyal owner. Would he return that negro to his master? I do not want the gentleman to go off and say that the commissioner would decide so and so; I wish him to give the House his own view of the law.

Mr. Cox. The gentleman does not want me to answer the question except just as he wishes I should.

MR. BLAINE. I want you to answer yes or no.

Mr. Cox. Learn to put your question directly, without preface.

Mr. Blaine. Would the gentleman return to a loyal owner his slave, found in the ranks of the Union army, fighting for the preservation of the Government? Is that direct enough for the impatient gentleman?

Mr. Cox. I would return any slave stolen from his legal master, and let that slave take the consequences of the military law.

MR. BLAINE. I hear the answer of the gentleman from Ohio, but I cannot catch its meaning.

Mr. Cox. And I guess that very few people ever catch their slaves under present circumstances. [Laughter.]

MR. BLAINE. Then I understand the gentleman to say that unless the slave be stolen he would not return him?

MR. Cox. If I were a commissioner, under the law, I would return every man whom the law required to be returned.

MR. BLAINE. But does the law require a man to be returned who is in the ranks of the Union army? The gentleman skillfully attempts to evade that question.

Mr. Cox. The gentleman skillfully puts a question and doggedly shuts his ears to the answer. The law was never made in view of a condition of things like the present.

MR. BLAINE. Then I understand the gentleman to say that he would return men to slavery from the ranks of the Union army?

MR. Cox. I would return any man now in arms who

has been wrongfully taken from his master, and then I would let the proper tribunal decide whether he properly belonged to the military service or not.

MR. BLAINE. Are the men who are in the army wrongfully taken.

Mr. Cox. I ask the gentleman that. Were they wrongfully taken.

MR. BLAINE. No sir.

Mr. Cox. Then I have nothing more to say to the gentleman on that point. The answer is obvious.

MR. BLAINE. Yes, but obvious as the answer may be, the gentleman fails to give it. But I will put another question. Suppose a runaway slave, one not taken by law from his master, enlists and is found in the ranks of the Union Army, and is claimed as a fugitive slave, what does he think about that?

Mr. Cox. I will tell the gentleman what I think about it. I opposed putting the black men in the army in the first place I said there would be trouble about the exchange of prisoners. I warned the House against that policy earnestly, in the interest of our white soldiers, who have been kept in prison by reason of this infamous military policy as to black soldiers. I do not believe the army has been strengthened one jot or tittle by the black men. I believe they are a positive weakness to the Union army, and the Union cause. General Grant does not use them. He does not put them in the front. He does not fight them. He knows their worth or worthlessness. He uses them where he can, but takes care where he places them.

MR. BLAINE. Let me tell the gentleman that there are more than one hundred and fifty wounded negroes in one hospital at Fortress Monroe.

MR. Cox. The gentleman may find one hundred and

fifty blacks wounded out of one hundred and fifty thousand soldiers. They were with Butler. The wonder is that any escaped. But General Grant is too skillful and able a general to put himself and black men against General Lee and his white men.

Mr. Blaine. I do not see the pertinency of that to my question.

Mr. Cox. I will show the gentlemen. I would be willing to let the black soldiers in our army be taken home to their loyal owners, and if the war must go on, leave to the white men the honor and duty of carrying on the war for the constitutional liberties of white men.

Mr. Blaine. Precisely; but I still fail to see the pertinency of the gentleman's harangue. I recognize in it the sentiment and the phrases of a stump speech, which I had the pleasure of hearing from him more than once before. But it has no relevancy to my question.

Mr. Cox. The gentleman is mistaken. I never discussed the subject-matter of his question before in my life. He imagines it to be a stump speech, because, in his familiar parlance, it is a *stumper* to him. True, I gave him a general answer.

MR. BLAINE. Quite a general one.

Mr. Cox. Then I will not yield any further. If I cannot make him understand, it is not my fault.

MR. BLAINE. Not at all.

Mr. Cox. I do not think the gentleman is so stupid as that he cannot understand it. The trouble is, he does not want to understand it.

MR. BLAINE. I understand distinctly that the gentleman does not wish to give me a direct answer.

The first session of the Thirty-eighth Congress adjourned on July 4, 1864. On June 7, the Republican National convention had re-nominated Abraham Lincoln at

Baltimore, on a platform which pronounced for war till all armed rebels surrendered, an amended constitution prohibiting slavery, a pledge to redeem the public debt, and support of the policy of the administration. The Democratic National convention which met at Chicago on August 29th, nominated George B. McClellan, on a distinctively peace platform, in which the war was declared a failure. The issues of 1864 were thus sharply drawn, and the campaign enlisted the best energies of leaders on both sides.

Mr. Blaine was more than ordinarily interested in this campaign, for he had again been nominated for Congress in the Third Maine District, by a unanimous vote in the convention. He had accepted the honor in a masterly letter directed to the Chairman of the Convention, in which he pointed out and discussed the questions of the hour and gave his constituents to understand where he would be found in the hour of action. The letter read:—

"AUGUSTA, August 20, 1864.

GEN. J. R. BACHELDER,

Dear Sir:—I am in receipt of your favor formally advising me that on the 10th instant, the Union Convention of the Third District unanimously nominated me for re-election as Representative in Congress. For this generous action, as well as for the cordial manner attending it, and the very complimentary phrases in which it is conveyed, I am under profound obligations. It is far easier for me to find the inspiring cause of such favor and such unanimity in the personal partiality of friends, than in any merits or services which I may justly claim as my own.

In nominating me as a Union candidate, and pledging me to no other platform, you place me on the precise ground I desire to occupy. The controlling and absorbing issue before the American people is whether the Federal Union shall be saved or lost. In comparison with that, all other issues and controversies are subordinate. and entitled to consideration just in the degree that they may influence the end which Washington declared to be "the primary object of patriotic desire." To maintain the Union, a gigantic war has been carried on, now in the fourth year of its duration, and the resources of the country, both in men and money, have been freely expended in support of it. This war was not a matter of choice with the government, unless it was prepared to surrender its power over one-half of its territory and incur all the hazards of anarchy throughout the other half. It was begun by those who sought to overthrow the Federal authority. It should be ended the very day that authority is recognized and re-established throughout its rightful domain.

The desire for peace after the sufferings and trials of the past three years is natural. Springing from the very instincts of humanity, it is irrepressible. The danger to be avoided is that in aiming to attain peace we shall be deceived by the shadow, and thus fail to secure the substance. Peace on the basis of disunion is a delusion. It is no peace at all. It is but the beginning of war—more wasteful, more destructive, more cruel than we have thus far experienced. Those who cry for the "immediate cessation of war" are the best advocates for its endless continuance. They mean peace by the recognition of rebel independence, and rebel independence is absolutely incompatible with peace.

Among the cherished errors of those who are willing to acknowledge the Southern Confederacy as the basis of peace, the most fatal is that which assumes the continued

union, harmony and power of the loval States. This cannot be. Contentions and strifes would at once spring up. The border States would be convulsed with a fierce contest as to which section they would adhere to. The Pacific slope, to escape the dangers and constant embroilments which it could neither control nor avoid, would naturally seek for independence; and the Northwest, if it did not follow the example, would demand such a reconstruction of the government of the remaining States as would make our further connection therewith undesirable if not absolutely intolerable. In short, disunion upon the line of the revolted States would involve the total and speedy disintegration of the Federal Government, and we would find ourselves launched on "a sea of troubles" with no pilot capable of holding the helm, and no chart to guide us on our perilous voyage.

There is indeed but one path of safety, and that is likewise the path of honor and of interest. We must preserve the Union. Differ as we may as to the measures necessary to that end, there should be no difference among loyal men as to the end itself. No sacrifice we can make in our efforts to save the Union is comparable with that we should make in losing it. He is the enemy to both sections and to the common cause of humanity and civilization who is willing to conclude the war by surrendering the Union; and the most alarming development of the times is the disposition manifested by leading journals, by public men, and by political conventions in the loyal States to accept this conclusion. For myself, in the limited sphere of my influence, I shall never consent to such delusive settlement of our troubles. Neither at the polls as an American citizen, nor in Congress as a Representative (should I again be chosen) will I ever give a vote

admitting even the possibility of ultimate failure in this great struggle for nationality.

Very respectfully your obd't servant,

J. G. BLAINE.

During the campaign Blaine's eloquent voice was heard in many places, and his assignment as speaker was sure to draw great crowds of hearers. As a sample of the arguments he used we submit a speech delivered at Augusta on Sept. 5, 1864, in which he measured the two candidates, Lincoln and McClellan.

"Fellow Citizens:—I think we shall all agree that the contest for the Presidency in which the American people are now engaged is marked by some extraordinary features. The Republicans are advocating the re-election of Mr. Lincoln who, with varying success, but with ceaseless devotion, has striven to subdue the enemies of the Union by military force, to which those enemies were, themselves, the first to appeal. The most malignant opponents of the President do not question his integrity, his earnestness, his zeal in the cause of the Union. They simply challenge the wisdom of his course.

"The Democrats have nominated an unsuccessful General of the Union Army, and their National Convention has placed him on a platform declaring the war to be a failure and demanding "a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of all the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that, at the earliest practicable moment, peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of all the States."

"General McClellan is, I think, the only military man who ever ran for President of the United States on the explicit and declared basis of a capitulation. He runs as a military hero, and yet proposes to ground arms, withdraw our troops, acknowledge the war to be a failure, and see on what terms of apologetic submission on the part of loyal men and Federal soldiers the rebels will agree to return to the Union as our masters.

"I think the members of the Democratic National Convention that nominated General McClellan and placed him on this peace platform deserve to be forever marked among their countrymen for lack of patriotism, for abandonment of the primal instinct of self-respect, for subordination of every manly impulse.

"If, on this declared line of policy, the people of the United States elect General McClellan, we should apologize for the victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg, forget the glories of the Chattanooga campaign, express regret for the valued achievements of our Navy, recall Grant from the splendid campaign he is waging against Lee in Virginia, and rebuke Sherman for having driven back the enemy from Atlanta and conquered that stronghold by the decisive victory whose details we are just now reading in the daily journals.

"We have sacrificed thousands of valuable lives, have spent money by the thousands of millions, are pressing the rebellion to its final retreat, are exhausting its last resources; and just when these Southern conspirators against the Union are in despair, the Democratic National Convention meets and, in the name of their great and once honored party, demands that the war shall cease, that our troops shall be withdrawn, and that the proud people of this Nation shall stand hat in hand and wait in humiliation and disgrace until the rebels prescribe the terms on which they will agree to govern us hereafter.

"I certainly do not envy the feelings of General Mc-Clellan when he surveys the position into which personal chagrin and anger and disappointment have placed his I do not desire to speak with harshness or personal di respect concerning him. He gained one victory for the Union at Antietam, and let him have ample credit fe that. His fault was that he could not and would not l loyal to those who, charged with the administration of the Federal Government, were his official superiors. He has been, from the beginning of his military career, disr spectful to Mr. Lincoln and apparently incapable appreciating the great character, the simplicity, the earnestness, the determination, of that wonderful ma-Towards Mr. Stanton, who speaks officially for the Pres dent, and who in ability as a war minister and in devotic to official duty has rarely been equaled in any countr General McClellan has been steadily, persistently and the last degree insolent.

"After his great army on the Peninsula (the mo superb and formidable that was ever organized on th continent) had been defeated by Lee and was lying Harrison's Landing, General McClellan telegraphed the Secretary of War: "If I save this Army now, I t you plainly that I owe no thanks to you or to any persons Washington. You have done your best to sacrifice th Army." It is an old maxim, fellow-citizens, that he on is fit to command who has proven himself ready to obe and certainly, by that test, General McClellan has: claim to be called to the rulership of the Republic, to the great task of governing the people of United State Suppose a Marshal of Napoleon had sent such a dispat to the great Emperor—suppose one of the Generals Frederick the Great had ventured to impute such condu to that mighty commander—how long do you believe t author of such insubordination would have been allowed even to live? Can any one doubt that Mr. Lincoln wou have been justified in instantly cashiering General Mc-Clellan, as the law authorized him to do, for this unparalleled insubordination?

"That patient man, who is slow to anger and incapable of personal resentment, forgave General McClellan and held back the fiery wrath of Stanton, rather than run the risk of sowing factions in the army by meeting out to McClellan his just and merited punishment. It requires an extraordinary degree of moral strength and self-control in a President of the United States to submit to such personal indignity as was attempted to be put upon Mr. Lincoln by General McClellan, without experiencing a certain sense of self-humiliation and without incurring a certain loss of self-respect on the part of his best friends. But incidents of this character prove how lofty is the nature of Mr. Lincoln and how he keeps himself free from the ordinary passions by which even great men are swaved beyond the confines of discretion. So far from losing dignity by not being forward to assert it he has constantly been more and more endowed with it. He has gained control over others by constantly maintaining it over himself and has established the highest standard of personal and official bearing by refraining from the pettiness of resentment and being too magnanimous to indulge in revenge.

"Let us contemplate for a moment the probable consequences of the programme to which the Northern Democrats now invite us. Does any man doubt that, if the policy, of which General McClellan is ready to stand as the representative, should triumph, the rebels would be able to establish their Confederacy? How, after grounding arms, humiliating the Union, ceasing to struggle, are you going to raise the war spirit again, in the event of the rebels refusing to come into the Union on any terms?

This resolution of the Democratic Convention, it is true, declares that the war is to cease on "the basis of the Federal Union." Suppose the rebels say, that they prefer to have their Confederacy: how are you going to be able to resist them? You would practically have disbanded your military strength, while the courage and confidence of the enemy's forces would have been trebled by the prestige gained from the retreat and practical surrender of the Union Army.

"If the rebels should insist upon their own separate Confederacy, does any man believe that the remaining States could continue to live in harmony and in union? Would not strifes and contentions, without number, at once spring up? The Border States would certainly be convulsed with a fierce contest as to which section they would adhere to; and, with the strong incentive of maintaining the institution of slavery, who doubts which way they would go? Would not the Pacific slope, in order to escape the dangers and embroilments which it could neither control nor avoid, naturally seek for independence -protected, as that section would be, on one side by a great chain of mountains and on the other by a broad ocean? The North-West, if it did not follow the example of secession, would demand such a reconstruction of the Government of the remaining States as would injuriously affect every interest of the East and North-East. In short, disunion upon the line of the revolted States would involve the speedy disintegration of the Federal Government. We should find ourselves launched on a sea of troubles, with no pilot capable of holding the helm and no chart to guide us on our perilous voyage.

"But let us suppose that the rebels would agree, in response to this invitation of the Democratic National Convention, approved by popular vote, to return to their rightful allegiance. Would they not practically be in a position to demand and enforce their own terms? Would they not ask, and receive, such guaranties of slavery as would fasten that institution, for all time, upon the United States, giving it free access to all the Territories and guarding it as a National institution at every point? If the North should present itself saddled and bridled, for the South booted and spurred, to mount, do you think they would ride mercifully? Would they not despise the craven spirit, the cringing cowardice, which impelled such action on the part of the loval people? and would they not feel sure that having gone so far in the path of humiliation as the election of McClellan would imply, they could lay no burden upon our back which we would not bear, and exact no condition, however degrading, with which we would not comply?

"It is difficult, I know, fellow-citizens, to speak of this issue with cool head, with measured words, in the language of argument. We are stirred too much with hot indignation to consider the rules of logic, to wait for the slow recital of facts, to ask you even to listen to any thing but angry denunciation of the Democratic position. Every man knows by instinct, without going through the process of demonstration, that the prosecution of the war is the only line of safety for the Union, and that, as Wellington said in his famous Peninsular campaign, "the prosecution of war is, after all, the process of exhaustion of the enemy." The Government of the Union is still strong, full of resources, of money, of men, of material, rich now in experience, with veterans in the ranks to the number of a million, with generals who have become great in the science of war from experience in the field. Our manufactures are prosperous, the oceans of the world are open to our commerce, our people have

never even considered that the fate of the Government could be critical, they have never even approached the borders of despair.

"How is it with the rebels? We know their situation almost as well as though we had daily bulletins from the centre of their government and from the headquarters of their armies. They are already greatly reduced; they daily grow weaker; their ports are blockaded; they can get no help from other nations; they cannot clothe their troops; they cannot supply shoes to the footsore soldiers who have marched and fought so well. We have cut the Confederacy in two, and practically detached the resources of Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas from the Richmond Government. Grant is in the heart of Virginia with a conquering host; while Sherman, with a triumphant army, is resting quietly in the centre of the cotton States, studying which way he may move with deadliest effects upon the resources of the Confederacy. Every thing portends success to our arms, and that speedily. Our only danger is in the rear, from the Democratic party, who are rushing to the defense of the Confederacy as though they desired, above all things, to interpose their strong arm to save it from being finally crushed and destroyed under the iron hoof of war.

"I know it is a common saying at each quadrennial election that it is the most important one the people have ever been called upon to decide; but if this has been lightly said before, I think it may now be declared with absolute truth. We have all felt, and many of us have publicly said, that the rebels would strain the last nerve to sustain the Confederacy through the Presidential campaign, with the blind hope, which has now become visible and palpable by the action of the Democratic party, that something would happen to their advantage. They wait

now, not upon the fortunes of war, but upon the decision at the ballot-boxes in the loyal States of the Union. They know that the election of McClellan will save them from the just consequences of their rebellion against the Union, and will practically make them arbiters of their own destiny, masters of the National situation. We know, and they know, that the re-election of Mr. Lincoln means a collapse of the rebel armies, the dispersion of their troops, the restoration of the National flag over all their territory, and the re-establishment of the Union, purified by war, relieved from the blot of slavery, and strengthened for all the future by the awful experience of these years of blood. Whatever doubt may attend the election in other States, I know that we can trust implicitly to the loyalty and the courage of Maine. Governor Seymour may try to confuse the issue in New York, the Knights of the Golden Circle will relax no effort in their determination to carry Indiana against the National Administration; but I believe their efforts will be in vain, for, after all, it is inconceivable that a majority of the citizens of these loyal States can be blinded to National pride, to a sense of their own interest, to the degrading humiliation to which the Democratic National Convention has invited the country.

"I do not deny, my fellow-citizens, that I covet the honor of a re-election to Congress. It is a matter of especial pride and ambition to be a member of the House of Representatives at this great epoch in the history of our country. But I should hang my head in shame and wish to be released from the mortification of sitting in Congress, if a majority of the members to be elected should approve the surrender of the proud position of the Nation which would be involved in the election of General McClellan. If there was a possibility of that National

humiliation, I should ask to be excused even from being a witness, and should return to you, if re elected, the credentials with which you would entrust me. But I have no fear of such a result. The National spirit is daily rising; the National pride is touched; the sense of National honor is awakened. The House of Representatives for which I am a candidate will, I am sure, contain a majority, a large majority, of men loyal to the Union, proud of the achievements of our armies, zealous in support of Mr. Lincoln's Administration.

"On Monday next we have our duty to discharge in Maine, and the distinguished gentleman from the Keystone State [Judge William D. Kelley], who has already spoken from this platform, will carry back to his loyal constituency the news of a great triumph, to which he has in no small degree contributed by his arguments and his eloquence. Maine speaks among the first States, and her voice has an importance far beyond her numerical strength. Let each Republican voter feel, therefore, that the duty devolved upon him is something more than belongs to him as a citizen of Maine. Let him remember that he is to speak for the loyalty of the North, and that his voice can influence other men, to the utmost bounds of the Republic."

The autumn elections brought forth results for the Union which cheered every loyal heart. Lincoln was overwhelmingly elected. Blaine carried his district by a majority of 4,328, nearly a thousand more than he had previously received. He was now ready to finish his term in the Thirty-eighth Congress, the second session of which opened Dec. 5, 1864. Though it was the "short session," much important work was done, in all of which Mr. Blaine participated with usual ability and enthusiasm. The novelty of new membership in a dignified body, with its

prejudices against youth and its hatred of forwardness, was beginning to wear off. Blaine shrank from none of the issues presented, but courted record wherever matters proved momentous. His parliamentary knowledge and experience began to prove useful in his new field, and he fast developed into the tactical legislator, whose possibility of achievement was not confined to speechifying and drafting and presenting, but in carrying through his work. The session saw the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution by the House, the passage of the bill erecting the Freedmen's Bureau, the enactment of the necessary war measures, and the settlement of a grave difficulty respecting the Presidential vote in the Seceded States.

It was during this session that he found himself compelled to run counter to the views of the Hon. Thaddeus Stevens in his attempt to equalize metallic and paper money. His speech in this instance was delivered on Dec. 7, 1864. It was brief but it worked a recall of Mr. Steven's bill from the Committee on Ways and Means, and its final disposition by laying it on the table. It was feared at the time that Mr. Blaine's course might lead him into opposition to what was deemed necessary war legislation, but he soon banished all such misgivings, and time has abundantly vindicated the wisdom of the stand he then took. His speech was as follows:—

MR. SPEAKER,—I move to reconsider the vote whereby the House yesterday referred to the Committee of Ways and Means a bill introduced by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Thaddeus Stevens], "to prevent gold and silver coin and bullion from being paid or exchanged for a greater value then their real current value, and for preventing any note or bill issued by the United States, and made lawful money and a legal tender, from being received for a smaller sum than is therein specified." I believe, Mr. Speaker, that this bill has been productive of great mischief in the brief twenty-four hours that it has been allowed to float before the public mind as a measure seriously entertained by this House. I believe that still more mischief will ensue every day and every hour the House stands committed to such legislation, even by the motion of courtesy which refers the bill to a committee. The provisions of the bill are very extraordinary, and but for the respect I feel for the distinguished gentleman who introduced it, I should say they were absurd and monstrous. Let me read two or three of these provisions:—

- "2. That a dollar note issued by the Government, declared lawful money and legal tender, is declared of equal value for all purposes as gold and silver coin of like denomination.
- "3. That a contract made payable in coin may be payable in legal-tender United States notes, and that no difference in sale or value shall be allowed between them.
- "5. That no person shall by any device, shift or contrivance receive or pay, or contract to receive or pay, any Treasury or other notes issued by the United States for circulation as money, and declared legal tender, for less than their lawfully expressed value; and any offender, upon conviction, shall suffer imprisonment not exceeding six months, and a fine equal to the full amount of the sum specified in said note.
- "6. That if any person shall, in the purchase or sale of gold or silver coin or bullion, agree to receive in payment notes of corporations or individuals at less than

par value, he shall be deemed to have offended against the provisions of this act, and shall be punished accordingly."

"I forbear to recite the remainder of the bill. I have read enough to show, that if it should become a law, the entire population on the Pacific coast would be liable to indictment and conviction for a criminal offense simply because they will persist in believing that in the present condition of our currency a gold dollar is worth more than a paper dollar. Not limiting the scope of the bill to the protection of Government currency, the gentleman from Pennsylvania still further proposes to punish, as for a misdemeanor, any one who shall agree to sell gold and receive in payment "notes of corporataions or individuals at less than par value."

"The whole bill, sir, aims at what is simply impossible. You cannot by a Congressional enactment make a coin dollar worth less than it is, or a paper dollar worth more than it is. I think we had experience enough in that direction with the famous gold bill at the last session. We passed that measure after a very severe pressure, and with great promises as to the wonders it would work in Wall Street. It continued on the statue-book for some twelve days—gold advancing at a rapid rate every day until its repeal was affected. The bill now under consideration has already had a most pernicious effect; and should it become a law, no man can measure the degree of its hurtful influence. It is for these reasons that I desire to have its reference reconsidered.

"In regard to the specific line of argument used by the chairman of Ways and Means to justify this extraordinary measure, let me say, Mr. Speaker, that I have read

English history on this subject with different conclusions from those so confidently expressed by him. My impression is that the well-weighed judgment, the deliberate conclusion of the British people was and is, that such prohibitory statutes as the gentleman has cited have no favorable effect upon the price of gold. That they did not have a prejudicial and disastrous effect in England, is due to the existence of other powerful causes whose operation and effect were most beneficent. Those causes for the decline and continued low price of gold are found, sir, in the fact that the British Parliament raised by taxation half, and sometimes more than half, of the total amount annually expended in her fierce struggle with Napoleon, and British arms were at the same time crowned with a series of brilliant and decisive victories. Indeed. the gentleman from Pennsylvania himself, somewhat unconsciously perhaps, admits the whole force of my position on this point; for he states that eight years before the English people resumed specie payment (in 1823), the premium on gold had fallen to a mere nomial rate. I admit it, sir; and I ask the honorable gentleman, what brought it there? Unconsciously, as I have said, the gentleman named the precise date of the battle of Waterloo, and the British victory on that memorable field was the cause of gold ruling low in London in 1815. By the battle of Waterloo England's supremacy was established: she had broken and beaten all coalitions against her, and was confessedly mistress on land and sea. It was her strong military and naval position and her resolute system of finance that raised the value of her bonds and brought down the price of gold. It was not her prohibitory legislation at all: no intelligent minister of finance. no English historian worthy of credit, has ever stated that it was.

"Let us, sir, imitate England in raising our credit by wise legislation here, and by continued victories in the field. If we could raise half of our expenses by taxation, and could add to our many triumphs on land and sea a Waterloo victory over the hosts of the rebellion, we should need no such legislation as the gentleman has proposed to keep down the price of gold. When we reach that happy period of final triumph, the gentleman's bill, if enacted, might prove harmless; but until then its manifest effect can only be injurious to the cause it seeks to serve."

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CHAPTER VII.

IN THE THIRTY-NINTH CONGRESS.

THE first session of the Thirty-Ninth Congress opened on Dec. 4th, 1865, and closed on July 28th, 1866. Much had transpired between the two sessions to gladden the country and to sadden it. Lee had surrendered on April 9th, 1865. President Lincoln had fallen a victim to the assassin's pistol on April 14th, 1865. Grave doubts overhung the country as to the policy of Andrew Johnson. The period of reconstruction was upon the nation, with all its entanglements.

The favorable turn the rebellion had taken in the autumn of 1864 and the emphatic indorsement of the Lincoln administration, had increased the Republican majority in both Houses of the Thirty-Ninth Congress. The Republicans had a majority of twenty-nine in the Senate and 105 in the House. Schuyler Colfax was re-elected Speaker. Mr. Blaine began to make his presence felt from the very beginning of this session. It was known that none of the younger members had been on more cordial or confidential terms with Mr. Lincoln than the new member from Maine. Towards the expiration of Mr. Lincoln's first-term Mr. Blaine was the person with whom the President constantly conferred in regard to political movements in Maine. Ward H. Lamon, Lincoln's law partner, was presented at a conference when Mr. Lincoln requested Mr. Blaine to go to Maine and watch the movements of the President's opponents. The acquaintance

between Lincoln and Blaine had begun in Illinois during the Douglas campaign in 1858, and at that early time the Maine editor had predicted in the columns of his paper that Lincoln would be defeated for senator by Douglas, but that he would beat Douglas for president in 1860. A copy of this prophecy Mr. Lincoln carried in his memorandum-book long after he had been inaugurated as president. In 1860, a delegate to the Chicago Convention, Mr. Blaine had been almost the only New England man who had supported Mr. Lincoln from the start, and it is not too much to say that it was Mr. Blaine's early and firm stand for Lincoln which opened the way to the first nomination of the first martyr President.

It is needless to say that Mr. Blaine participated with his usual ardor and ability in all the leading measures of this important session, and aided materially in saving the legislation adequate to the hour, by the passage of bills over President Johnson's vetoes. Thus were saved the amended Freedman's Bureau Bill and the one providing education and military protection for the negro race. Similarly, was passed the Civil Rights Bill, but in a form which led leading statesmen to think that its substance could only be preserved in the form of a Constitutional amendment. This led to the framing and adoption of the Fourteenth amendment to the Constitution, pending which Mr. Blaine made strenuous efforts to have representation based on votables instead of on population, and had the honor of delivering the first speech in the Congress involving the idea. Had his views prevailed there would not have been such a thing as a "Solid South" to-day. based on a representation far in excess of voters, and maintained by depriving hosts of citizens of the franchise accorded to them by the Constitution. His speech was brief and read as follows:- "Were the negroes to be enfranchised throughout the South to-day, no one would insist on the adoption of this amendment; and yet if the amendment shall be incorporated in the Federal Constitution, its incidental evils will abide in the loyal States long after the direct evil which it aims to cure may have been eradicated in the Southern States.

"If voters instead of population shall be made the basis of representation, certain results will follow, not fully appreciated perhaps by some who are now urgent for the change. I will confine my examination of these results to the free States. The ratio of voters to population varies widely in different sections, ranging from a minimum of nineteen per cent to a maximum of fifty-eight per cent; and the changes which this fact would work in the relative representation of certain States would be monstrous. For example, California has a population of 358,-110, and Vermont 314,369, and each has three representatives on this floor to-day; but California cast 207,000 votes, in electing her three representatives, and Vermont cast 87,000. Assuming voters as the basis of apportionment, and allowing to Vermont three representatives, California would be entitled to eight. The great State of Ohio, with nearly seven times the population of California, would have but little more than two and a half times the number of representatives; and New York, with quite eleven times the population of California, would have in the new style of apportionment less than five times as many members of this House. California it may be said presents an extreme case, but no more so than will continually recur for the next century under the stimulus to the emigration of young voters from the older States to the inviting fields of the Mississippi valley and the Pacific slope.

"There is no need, Mr. Speaker, of precipitating this evil of inequality among States, in order to cure the evil complained of. The Constitution may be amended so as to prevent the one evil without involving others of greater magnitude, and I venture to express the belief that the proposition submitted by me this morning will, if adopted, secure the desired result. Let me briefly explain that proposition.

"The Constitution of the United States, article one, section two, clause three, reads as follows to the first period:—

"Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by (adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons.)"

"The portion which I have included in parentheses has become meaningless and nugatory by the adoption of the Constitutional amendment which abolishes the distinction between "free persons" and "all other persons," and being thus a dead letter might as well be formally struck out. In its stead I propose to insert the words following included in parentheses, so that the clause as amended would read thus:—

"Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by (taking the whole number of persons, except those to whom civil or political rights or privileges are denied or abridged by the Constitution or laws of any State on account of race or color.)"

"This is a very simple and very direct way, it seems to

me, of reaching the desired result without embarrassment to any other question or interest. It leaves population, as heretofore, the basis of representation, does not disturb in any manner the harmonious relations of the loyal States, and it conclusively deprives the Southern States of all representation in Congress on account of the colored population, so long as those States may choose to abridge or deny to that population the political rights and privileges accorded to others.

The second session of the Thirty-ninth Congress met Dec. 3, 1866 and adjourned by limitation on March 3rd, 1867. The attitude of President Johnson had become plain. He was determined to run away with the legislative power of Reconstruction and make it an executive matter. This was but to play into the hands of the rebels and win for them a victory their arms could not force. As he grew defiant the Congress grew resistive. There were mutterings of impeachment, and the time did not conduce to legislation of a wholly deliberative character. The most important measures of the session were those fixing the successions of the Fortieth and succeeding Congress so that no recess could occur, and to provide efficient governments for the insurrectionary States, one of the requirements being that they must ratify the Thirteenth and Fourteenth amendments, as a condition of their re-admission into the Union. Tenure of office Bill was also passed as a safeguard against Executive usurpations.

All these measures were radical, yet necessary. They required careful formulation and aggressive advocacy, and none contributed more to their adoption than Mr. Blaine. His speeches upon several of these measures would greatly enrich his biography if space permitted their insertion, but as it does not we must be content to

give only those which most fully map the times and show Mr. Blaine's unquestioned right to stand as a leading champion of Republican views. The one submitted first was not delivered in the House, but to his constituents in mass meeting during the campaign of 1866, on Aug. 29, at Skowhegan, Me., Mr. Blaine having received a third nomination for Congress in his district. His theme was "The Fourteenth Amendment as a Basis of Reconstruction." He said:—

"Fellow-Citizens,—The questions which seemed most pressing at the close of the war last year, and which for a time demanded the largest share of popular attention, related to the finances of the nation, to the adjustment of our currency, to the funding of our large public debt. These have since been overshadowed by the question of Reconstruction, or, rather, by the dispute which has ensued between the President and Congress as to the terms upon which the States lately in rebellion should be re-admitted to the right of representation in Congress, and to that full rehabilitation, as members of the Union, which for four years they struggled to be freed from.

"At the outset it appeared as if the difference between the President and Congress, which rapidly ran into a decisive quarrel between the two, would prove a public calamity; but latterly it has seemed that this very divergence of views, this conflict of authority, will lead to a more radical and more lasting settlement of all the issues that grew out of the war, than would have been reached if the President and Congress had hastily agreed upon the terms for re-admitting the Southern States. Conflicts in the moral world and conflicts in the political world often result in great good; and I am enough of an optimist to believe that the present struggle, based, as we must presume it to be, on an honest difference of opinion between the Executive and Legislative departments, will lead to a broader affirmation of human rights, a more equitable adjustment of the relations of the two sections, a more effective guaranty of the liberties and the rights of those who have so recently been emancipated from chattel slavery.

"I think a great deal of valuable time and a great deal of useless effort have been expended in Congress upon abstract questions which really are of no value whatever in the final settlement of the grave problems now at issue. The Congressional Globe of the late session is laden down with discussions as to the exact present status of the late insurrectionary States, and the disputants have argued the question with all the zeal and all the ability of those ancient theologians who waxed warm over theses the very meaning of which is now forgotten, or, if remembered, make no impression whatever upon the creeds of the Christian world. Two great theories have been maintained respecting these States. The first, which is the foundation of President Johnson's theory of Reconstruction, is that the States were never out of the Union, that they never ceased to be members of the Union, that their rights under the Constitution remained unimpaired. The second, which may be called the Congressional basis of Reconstruction, as many present it, is that these States, if not out of the Union, have at least by their own acts of secession and rebellion lost their Statehood, if they be not, indeed, reduced to the condition of Territories; and that it rests with Congress to determine whether they shall be re-admitted to representation in Senate and House, when they shall be re-admitted, and the terms upon which they shall be re-admitted.

" I do not believe that the time is profitably spent which is given to debating these abstract questions, nor do I believe that, in the end, these theories affect, one way or the other, the actual legislation which has for the time become the basis of Reconstruction. The large majority of the members of Congress have taken no great part in these opposing speculative plans, but have rather agreed with the position taken by Mr. Lincoln in the last speech he ever made, in which he gave a faint foreshadowing of his own views of Reconstruction. Alluding to this very question as to whether the States were still in the Union, or had placed themselves outside of it, Mr. Lincoln declared that "it is not practically a material issue," and that any discussion of it could have "no other effect than the mischievous one of dividing friends." In his own quaint way Mr. Lincoln defined what to him had "always seemed the exact status of the case." "We all agree." said he, "that the seceded States are out of their proper, practical relation with the Union, and that the sole object of the Government is to get them back into their proper, practical relation. I believe it is easier to do this without deciding, or even considering, whether these States have ever been out of the Union. The States finding themselves once more at home, it would seem immaterial to me to inquire whether they had ever been abroad."

"Leaving out of sight all theories, therefore, Congress mally came to a decision which I think the overwhelming majority of voters in the loyal States will approve. We said, in affect, to these rebel States, that having withdrawn their representatives from Congress and fought for four years to destroy the very existence of the National Government, we intend now to impose certain conditions upon them before they shall be re-admitted to representation in Senate and House. We said, in effect, to the

Southern people, that we do not intend to be hard or exacting upon them: we do not intend to use the power that is in our hands to humiliate or degrade them. On the contrary, we intend to deal with them in a more magnanimous and generous manner than ever rebels were dealt with since civil government was established among men. We are willing to forget all that they have done: we cast out of our memories the lives that have been lost, the property that has been destroyed, the frightful distress that has been created, in consequence of their rebellion. It is better that it be all forgotten and in the bosom of the deep ocean buried. We do not deal with them in a spirit of revenge: we inflict nothing upon them for the past, beyond what is needful for the safety of the future,—for it is only to the future that we now look.

"In the first place, we ask that they will agree to certain changes in the Constitution of the United States; and, to begin with, we want them to unite with us in broadening the citizenship of the Republic. The slaves recently emancipated by proclamation, and subsequently by Constitutional Amendment, have no civil status. They should be made citizens. We do not, by making them citizens. make them voters,-we do not, in this Constitutional Amendment, attempt to force them upon Southern white men as equals at the ballot-box; but we do intend that they shall be admitted to citizenship, that they shall have the protection of the laws, that they shall not, any more than the rebels shall, be deprived of life, of liberty, of property, without due process of law, and that "they shall not be denied the equal protection of the law." And in making this extension of citizenship, we are not confining the breadth and scope of our efforts to the negro. It is for the white man as well. We intend to make citizenship National. Heretofore, a man has been a citizen of the United States because he was a citizen of some one of the States: now, we propose to reverse that, and make him a citizen of any State where he chooses to reside, by defining in advance his National citizenship—and our Amendment declares that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the States wherein they reside." This Amendment will prove a great beneficence to this generation, and to all who shall succeed us in the rights of American citizenship; and we ask the people of the revolted States to consent to this condition as an antecedent step to their re-admission to Congress with Senators and Representatives.

. "But that is not all we ask. The white people of the South have heretofore had, as we in the North have thought, an unfair advantage, in counting their property in the basis of representation against the flesh and blood of the North. They have always insisted that slaves were property,-as much as horses or mules or lands,-and they have been ready to fly into a passion and to commit violence against any one who disputed that proposition; and yet when our Federal Government was formed they insisted that three-fifths of all the persons that constituted this property should be included in the basis of representation in Congress. They have thus had an unfair advantage in every Congress that has assembled from the inauguration of George Washington to the outbreak of the Rebellion. The negroes are now free men, and instead of three-fifths entering into the basis of representation, the South will have the benefit of the whole mass, the entire five-fifths; and yet the Southern white men do not propose to allow a single one of these millions of colored men to vote. This Constitutional Amendment

which we are proposing does not command that the Southern States shall permit the colored men to vote. At what time they shall advance him to suffrage, in what manner they shall advance him to suffrage, this Constitutional Amendment leaves to their own discretion. It simply says that until they do clothe the colored man with the power to vote, they shall not include him in the basis of representation.

"I ask you now, my fellow-citizens, if that proposition is not an absolutely fair and equitable one to the white men of the South? I have never met a supporter of Mr. Lincoln's Administration, even of those most conservative, who was not ready to declare that the system of Reconstruction thus proposed is not only just to the white population of the South, but generous ?- In truth it consults the prejudices of the white population of the South even farther than is just to the colored men, all of whom were loyal to the Union, and many of whom fought for its preservation. A great many of our Northern people, a very large proportion, I know, of my own constituents in this Kennebec District, find fault with the proposed Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, for the very reason that it does not directly confer suffrage upon the colored man. Our recent Republican State Convention adopted a resolution unanimously declaring that all men. without regard to race, creed, or color, should be declared equal in civil and political rights; and I know that while I stand here urging the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, I am asking them, in the once derided language of Mr. Webster, to "conquer their prejudices" and take the Fourteenth Amendment precisely as it is submitted for ratification.

"Proceeding to the next provision of the Constitutional Amendment, we say, in effect, to these Southern men that

we do not intend to prosecute them or make any attempt to punish them. The war is over, and we shall not disturb the peace now reigning, by any "bloody assizes" in the South. A practical amnesty exists, and those who took part in the rebellion are free from all danger of the law. But, at the same time, we do not intend, if we can help it, that the men who had been members of Congress, who had served in State Legislatures, who had been officers under the United States or any one of the States, and took a solemn personal oath to obey and defend the Constitution and then forswore themselves and rushed into the rebellion, shall come back to the councils of the Nation until two-thirds of Congress shall declare that they may have that privilege. As for the great mass of the Southern men who went into the war, they are perfeetly free to hold any office to which they may be chosen, just as free as Northern men, -so far as this Constitutional Amendment affects them. We aim the exclusion only at the class who are special, conscious offenders, and the aggregate of this class is as nothing compared with the whole number who engaged in the rebellion. Careful calculation shows that these disabilities for civil service will not affect more than fourteen thousand citizens in the entire South, out of the millions that were engaged in insurrection.

"We have still a fourth condition to impose upon the Southern States. The war for the preservation of the Union cost a vast sum of money. It was advanced largely by our own people, but in part was borrowed in Europe. All citizens who loaned to the Government in the hour of its distress took an honorable and patriotic risk; all forcigners who loaned us money trusted to a National honor that has never been tarnished; and the faith of the Nation is pledged to the fair and strict repayment of both

citizen and alien, on terms that are nominated in the bonds which each received. The loyal men who control Congress do not intend that this debt shall be left in such position that an adverse majority in the Senate and House may at any time withhold payment, or even threaten to do so; and therefore we bind up the rights of the public creditor in the organic law of the land, and declare that "the validity of the public debt shall never be questioned." More than that, a large amount of this debt was incurred in the payment of pensions and bounties for soldiers, and we throw around that, also, the muniments of the Constitution, declaring that it stands out and beyond the power of a majority in both Houses to change.

"We are not yet through with these conditions for the Southern States. One or two more still remain. The Government of the Confederate States, so called, issued bonds and incurred a public debt, and the separate States that composed the Confederacy did the same, -all in support of the war against the Union. The people who advanced money on these bonds deserve to lose it. They deserve to lose it if they were citizens of the rebellious States: they still more deserve to lose it if, as aliens, honorably bound not to aid in destroying our National life, they invested their money in these securities whose value was based upon the hope and the expectation of overthrowing the American Union. We now bind it down by a Constitutional Amendment, that "no State of this Union," or the United States, if that were possible to conceive, "shall ever pay any debt or obligation of all kind incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion."

"One step farther, still. It was necessary for the safety of the Union to destroy the institution of slavery, as a war measure, justified by the law of Nations,—an act made perfect by the amended organic law of the Republic.

There may be some danger that, as years go by, the people of the South who were in rebellion, feeling the loss of their slaves and, perhaps, the poverty and hardship that resulted from that loss, will ask for some remuneration from the conquering Government. Aside from the injustice of the demand, the attempt to pay it might imperil the National debt, which is due by every obligation of honor, and therefore the Congress of the United States has deemed it wise to insert in the Constitution that "no claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave shall ever be paid by any State Government or by the National Government, but shall forever be held to be illegal and void."

And then we asked, although it was, perhaps, implied without the asking, that Congress shall reserve to itself, as part of this Amendment to the organic law of the Republic, the power "to enforce, by appropriate legislation," every one of its provisions.

These several provisions which I have thus somewhat elaborately detailed, constitute the proposed Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. This could only be proposed to the States, as you well know, by two-thirds of each branch of Congress. As matter of fact, it received three-fourths in the Senate and even a larger proportion in the House,-the vote in the Senate being 33 ayes to 11 noes, and in the House 120 ayes to 32 noes. It is now before the States of this Union for ratification or rejection, and the one important thing for the people of Maine to look to is the election of a Legislature which will ratify. All the loyal States, together, ratifying it will not embody it in the Constitution. The theory has been maintained by some of the more extreme men of the Republican party that three-fourths of the States required by the Constitution to ratify the Amendment, should under present circumstances properly mean three-fourths of the loyal States; but the general, and I think the wiser, conclusion of the party had been to adhere to the ratification of three-fourths of all the States of the Union as required by the letter of the Constitution. If we secure three-fourths of all the States the validity of the Amendment can never be questioned, but if we should attempt to proceed on the theory that three fourths of the loyal States are all that are required, we might find great trouble in the future when the possible changes of political fortune should bring our opponents into power.

"Discarding this theory and adhering to the old ways, the situation stands thus, viz.: the Southern States uniting with the Northern States in incorporating in the Constitution the provisions I have set before you, shall be readmitted to all their former rights of representation in Congress, and shall be re-clothed with all the power of a State in the Union. I do not mean that Congress has given a specific pledge to that effect, but I do mean that such is the general understanding, -an understanding already made explicit and practical by the admission of Tennessee immediately after her ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment. The Legislature of that State was in session when the Amendment was finally passed by Congress, and ratified it without delay. Immediately thereafter, Congress by an overwhelming vote, larger, I believe, in both branches than that by which the Amendment itself was adopted, re-admitted Tennessee to all her ancient rights in the Union. It is needless, of course, to say that Congress stands ready to treat in the same manner any other Southern State which is ready to follow the example of Tennessee. It is not improbable, therefore, if wise councils prevail throughout the South, that the entire Union will be restored before the expiration of the Thirtyninth Congress, and Representatives will be admitted as soon as the new apportionment, consequent upon the new basis of representation, can be completed.

"At the same time, it is only fair to state that if the more extreme of the Secession States shall refuse to accept the conditions now offered. Congress will not stand still and wait the processes of delay and postponement which certain Southern leaders think may wear out the patience of the North and carry this whole question into the Presidential election two years hence. A large proportion of the House of Representatives and of the Senate desired to make more stringent conditions than are contained in the Fourteenth Amendment. The Journals of both branches of Congress will show how many radical provisions were defeated, and if now, in turn, the more conservative provisions that are submitted shall be defeated in the South, the authors of the radical policy will gain great prestige and influence in the councils of the Nation. There are many men who believe that we do a wrong, not only to the colored man, but to the future of the country, by declining to exact suffrage for him as one of the conditions of Reconstruction. But the more moderate policy prevailed, and the question is left to the wisdom and sound judgment of the leading race in the South, with a penalty of decreased representation, which in my judgment will in time force the South to concede suffrage to the colored man. Perhaps a concession gained in that way may prove to be stronger and more securely fortified than a direct and absolute condition imposed by Congress.

"But these are all speculations. The actual and practical duty before us is to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. The people of the North desire a complete restoration of the Union; commercial, financial and manufacturing interests demand it; our safety at home, our pres-

tige abroad, demand it. The Democratic party and the South, which are in fact identical, misrepresent the actual condition of affairs when they declare that the Republicans are bent on keeping the Southern States out of the Union. We have given the best proof of our own sincerity, by already admitting one of them, and by laying down the moderate conditions upon which we propose to admit them all. But I beg you, I beg the Republicans of Maine, who constitute the great majority of the entire people of our State, not to be driven into any surrender of the position which demands of the Southern States that they shall give us security for the future. Indemnity for the past we cannot exact from them: they cannot bring back the dead that sleep in honored graves, they cannot repay to us the thousands of millions of money that have been sacrificed in the war to retain them in the Union. But in the name of the sacred dead, and as a security for wasted treasure, we ask that these States shall be so bound by obligations of duty and of honor, that they cannot again disturb the integrity of the Union, or again subject the loyal States to costly sacrifice of blood and to the destruction of the National resources.

"I am often asked, during my canvass of the District, what Congress will do if the Southern States refuse to accept this Fourteenth Amendment as a condition to their restoration to the Union. Of course, I am not in any sense empowered to answer that question: I can only give you my own opinion, and assure you of my own action. My judgment is that if the Southern States reject the Fourteenth Amendment and refuse to return to the Union subject to its conditions, they will be kept out until they accept what to them will be a still harsher condition, but what to our view in Maine would be the more just condition,—of accepting impartial manhood suffrage,

without regard to creed, caste or color, as the basis of their re-admission to representation in Congress. I know that the Southern States are stimulated by leading Northern Democrats and by all the force of President Johnson's Administration, to resist and reject the invitation contained in the submission of the Fourteenth Amendment. They believe that a revolution in public opinion can be effected against the Republicans, that the more prolonged the exclusion of the States the more radical the revolt will be against the power of Congress, and that if the Southern States will stand out solidly against the Fourteenth Amendment they will soon be re-enforced by a sufficient number of Northern States to give them the control of Congress and the dictation of their own terms for re-entering the Union.

"You can judge as well as I, fellow-citizens, as to the probability of these calculations of our opponents being fulfilled. But it is no time for us to tarry in speculation. Action, prompt and decisive is the demand of the hour. We can do much to prevent their fulfillment. We can influence the public opinion of Maine; we can send a united Republican delegation to Congress; we can give a large popular majority to our gallant candidate for Governor, General Chamberlain, who represents the aggregate Republican opinion of the State on all the issues involved. Let us not stop to think of what other States may do, but let us employ the few remaining days of this canvass, not merely in defeating the Democratic partyfor that result is already assured—but in defeating it by so large and so overwhelming a vote as will emphasize the opinion of Maine and thereby influence the judgment of other States. Let us in this way give warning to the Southern States that if they reject the conditions now offered them, they will not be tendered a second time in the same form, and each time they are rejected they will probably have an additional exaction placed upon them,—not from revenge upon the citizens of those States, but because of the reason for stringent exaction which their defiant rejection of fair terms and their truculent disposition would demand as essential to a safe system of Reconstruction. I think in the present crisis it might be well for the leaders of public opinion in the South to refresh their minds with the moral contained in the ancient fable of the Sybylline Books."

This eloquent speech in advocacy of the Fourteenth Amendment was the key to the situation in Maine and in the country at large. Mr. Blaine was elected upon the issue it presented by a majority of 6,591, nearly double his first majority, and the largest by far he ever secured in his District.

Flushed with his victory he entered the Second Session of the Thirty-ninth Congress to press the question home on the Nation, whether the late rebels should wield the entire civil power of the South. This matter became momentous in view of the fact that some of those States had rejected Reconstruction on the basis of the Fourteenth Amendment. His remarks touching this question, delivered on Dec. 10, 1866, were as follows:

"Mr. Chairman,—The popular elections of 1866 have decided that the lately rebellious States shall not be re-admitted to the privilege of representation in Congress on any less stringent condition than the adoption of the pending Constitutional Amendment. But those elections have not determined that the privilege of representation shall be given to those States as an immediate consequence of adopting the amendment. In that respect the decision of the loyal people has been rather negative than affirma-

tive; expressive of the least that would be accepted rather than indicative of the most that might be demanded. Had the Southern States, after the adjournment of Congress, accepted the amendment promptly and in good faith, as a definitive basis of adjustment, the loyal States would have indorsed it as such, and the second session of the Thirty-ninth Congress would have been largely engaged in perfecting the details for the full and complete representation of all the States on the new basis of apportionment.

"The Southern States, however, have not accepted the amendment as a basis of adjustment, but have on the other hand vehemently opposed it; every one of them that has thus far acted on the question, with the exception of Tennessee, having defiantly rejected it. This absolute and obdurate refusal on the part of those States to accept the amendment as the condition of their regaining the privilege of representation, certainly relieves Congress from whatever promise or obligation may have been originally implied in regard to admitting them to representation upon their adopting the amendment—this promise, or implication, or whatever you choose to term it, being, by universal understanding, conditioned on the Southern States accepting the amendment in good faith, as was significantly illustrated in the case of Tennessee.

But even if the Constitutional Amendment should be definitely accepted, South as well as North, as the condition on which the rebel States are to regain the privilege of Congressional representation, the actual enjoyment of that privilege would of necessity be postponed until the terms of the amendment could be complied with, and that would involve a somewhat uncertain period of time. I take it for granted, as I did when I voted for the Constitutional Amendment, and as I presume every other

inequitable share of representa States are to be deprived of th sentatives, based on their non should be deprived of them at or even temporarily, with the old they would continue to exercis sentatives and in the Electoral of influence enjoyed by them before "The population of the State was by the census of 1860 on 8,039,000 were whites and 4, population of the free States by 19,201,546, of whom only 237,000 hardly be maintained by any or slave-holding, taken as a whole more than hold good their populat free States, despite the losses of increase has never been more rap It is speaking with moderation to of the free States is to-day 25,000,0 "Supposing the Constitutiona adopted, therefore, as the basis of r ern States to the privilege of renr to-day, the aggregate number of representatives from the late slave States would be eighty-five, and from the free States one hundred and fifty-six—making a House of two hundred and forty-one in all. And yet if those two hundred and forty-one members were divided between the free and slave States on the basis of the representative population as directed by the Constitutional Amendment, the slave States would have but fifty-eight members, while the free States would have one hundred and eighty three.

"A corresponding change would be wrought in the Electoral Colleges. Were the Government to permit an election for President and Vice-President in 1868 on the basis assigned by the census of 1860, the late slave States would have 115 electoral votes, while the free States would have 198. But on the actual basis contemplated by the Constitutional Amendment the late slave States would have but 88, while the free States would have 225. On the old basis the free States would thus have a majority of 83, while on the basis of the Constitutional Amendment they would have a majority of 127; a net difference of 44 electoral votes in favor of the free States.

"In view of these results, which are the plainest arithmetical deductions, it could not be expected that the free States, even if they were to adhere to the Constitutional Amendment as the ultimatum of adjustment, would consent to have the lately rebellious States admitted to representation here and to a participation in the Electoral Colleges until the relative and proper strength of the several States should be adjusted anew by a special cen and by an apportionment made in pursuance that It was in this belief and with these views that at airs, session of Congress I framed a bill providing forate on enumeration of the inhabitants of the United St bill was on my motion referred to the Re

Committee, and has never been reported to the House by that Committee either favorably or adversely.

"What then shall be done? The people, so far as I represent them, have plainly spoken in the late elections, and the interpretation of their voice is not difficult. They have pronounced with unmistakable emphasis in favor of the Constitutional Amendment with the superadded and indispensable prerequisite of manhood suffrage. The Constitutional Amendment with its definition of American citizenship, with its guaranty of the national obligations, and with its prohibition of the assumption of the rebel debt, is an invaluable addition to our organic law. We cannot surrender its provisions, and the rebel States cannot by their utmost resistance defeat its ultimate adoption. It is too late to deny or even to argue the right or power of the Government to impose upon those States conditions precedent to their resumption of the privilege of representation. The President set the example by exacting three highly important concessions from those States as his basis of reconstruction. Congress followed by imposing four other conditions as its basis of reconstruction. Now the people have spoken, demanding one additional condition as their basis of reconstruction, and that condition is the absolute equality of American citizens in civil and political rights without regard to caste. color, or creed.

"The objection in the popular mind of the loyal States to the Constitutional Amendment as a basis of final djustment, is not directed to what that amendment will aret, but to what it will not effect. Among the objects full me importance which it will not effect is the absorb 186 tection of the two classes in the South to whom franchismment owes a special debt,—the loyal white the basis is loyal black men. The amendment, if made final adjustment without further condition,

leaves the rebel element of the South in possession of the local governments, free to persecute the Union men of all complexious in numberless ways, and to deprive them of all participation in civil affairs, provided they will submit to a curtailed representation in Congress as the penalty. The danger is that they would accept the infliction on themselves in order to secure the power of visiting the loyalists with a full measure of vengeance; just as certain religious denominations in England, at various times under the reign of the Stuarts, favored measures of proscription which bore with some hardship on themselves, because they were enabled thereby to punish some rival and hated sectaries with positive severity and cruelty.

"Among the most solemn duties of a sovereign government is the protection of those citizens who, under great temptations and amid great perils, maintain their faith and their loyalty. The obligation of the Federal Government to protect the loyalists of the South is supreme, and they must take all needful means to provide that protection. The most needful is the gift of free suffrage, and that must be guaranteed. There is no protection you can extend to a man so effective and conclusive as the power to protect himself. And in assuring protection to the loyal citizen you assure permanency to the Government. The bestowal of suffrage is therefore not merely the discharge of a personal obligation toward those who are enfranchised, but it is the most far-sighted provision against social disorder, the surest guaranty for peace, prosperity, and public justice."

In the Thirty-ninth Congress Mr. Blaine served as Chairman of the Committee on War Debts of Loyal States and member of the Committee on Military Affairs, and on the Select Committee of one from each State on the Death of President Lincoln.

CHAPTER VIII.

IN THE FORTIETH CONGRESS.

THE Fortieth Congress met in extra session on March 5, 1867, pursuant to an act of the previous session. The issues between the Congress and President Johnson had resulted in the choice of 138 Republicans and 47 Democrats in the House. Schuyler Colfax was re-elected Speaker. Political legislation was not the design of the session. It was there for police purposes and to secure a continuity of sessions, which it did by adjournments till the regular session of Dec. 2, 1867. Mr. Blaine took advantage of the situation to make a brief visit to Europe. While absent, what afterward became known as the "Greenback craze" broke out and found advocates among some prominent men, notably Mr. Pendleton and Mr. Butler. Pendleton had introduced a measure looking to the payment of the interest upon U.S. Bonds, and even the principal, in currency, and it had found such able advocates as to quite dumb-found statesmen of a serious turn. Of all national questions those relating to finance were the most difficult to handle prior to the resumption of specie payments. Few indeed were the men equal to the task of laying down and advocating safe, broad-guage principles relative to money, and fewer still were capable of meeting and overthrowing the dangerous plausibilities of those who sought to undermine national credit by making the currency serve illegitimate purposes. It is greatly to Mr. Blaine's credit that

he struck the first decisive blow at the undermining effect of Mr. Pendleton's and Mr. Butler's theories. This he did in the extra session of the Fortieth Congress which met Nov. 21, 1867. He had evidently spent much time and research on his speech, and when it came, it not only fell like a blow on his opponents, but electrified the country. The House was in Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, on Nov. 26, 1867, when Mr. Blaine arose and said:—

Mr. Chairman,—Within the past few months, some erroneous and mischievous views have been put forward in regard to the nature of the public obligation imposed by the debt of the United States. Without stopping to notice the lesser lights of the new doctrine, and not caring to analyze the various forms of repudiation suggested from irresponsible sources throughout the country, I propose to review, as briefly as may be, the position contemporaneously assumed by two able and distinguished gentlemen—the one from the West, the other from the East—the one the late candidate of the Democratic party for the Vice-Presidency—[Mr. Pendleton of Ohio]—the other a prominent member of this House from the strongest Republican district of the State of Massachusetts [General Butler].

The position of these gentlemen I understand to be simply this: that the principal of the United States bonds, known as the five-twenties, may be fairly and legally paid in paper currency by the Government after the expiration of five years from the date of issue.

"A brief review of the origin of the five-twenty bonds will demonstrate, I think, that this position is in contravention of the honor and good faith of the National Government; that it is hostile to the spirit and the letter of

the law; that it contemptuously ignores the commo derstanding between borrower and lender at the tim loan was negotiated; and that finally, even if such of payment were honorable and practicable, it is prove disastrous to the financial interests of the Goment and the general prosperity of the country. If the attention and the indulgence of the House where apitulate the essential facts in support of my asse

"The issue of the five-twenty bonds was orig authorized by the act of Feb. 25, 1862, which pro for the large amount of \$500,000,000. It is this which was successfully disposed of by Jay Cooke in 1863, and of which a great proportion was subsequ purchased by foreign capitalists. It will be borne in that up to that time in all the loan bills passed by gress not one word had ever been said in regard to payment either of bond or coupon; and yet it w equally borne in mind that coin payment, both principal and interest of the public debt, has bee invariable rule from the foundation of the govern No instance to the contrary can be found in our his In the pithy language of Nathaniel Macon, "our Go ment was a hard-money Government, founded by money men, and its debts were hard-money debts."

"It will be still further borne in mind that whe bill authorizing the original issue of five-twenties was der discussion in Congress no man of any party, eith the Senate or the House, ever intimated that those were to be paid in any thing else than gold or silver issue of legal-tender notes of contemporaneous originegarded as a temporary expedient, forced upon the cruel necessities and demands of war, and it was versally conceded that the specie basis was to be reslong before the bonds should mature for payment.





in order that the public creditor might have the amplest assurance of the payment of both principal and interest in coin it was specially enacted that all duties on imports should be paid in coin, and the amount thus raised was distinctly pledged, not only to the payment of the interest in coin, but to the formation of a sinking fund for the ultimate redemption of the principal in coin. This provision is so important that I quote it entire. After providing that the duties shall be paid in coin, the act devotes the amount so collected to the following specific purposes:—

"First, to the payment in coin of the interest on the bonds of the United States.

"Second, To the purchase or payment of one per cent. of the entire debt of the United States, to be made within each fiscal year after the first day of July, 1862, which is to be set apart as a sinking-fund, and the interest of which shall be in like manner applied to the purchase or payment of the public debt, as the Secretary of the Treasury shall from time to time direct."

"Much carping and criticism have been expended on the second clause of this provision, mainly by those who seem desirous of wresting and distorting its plain and obvious meaning. Brushing aside all fine spun construction and cunning fallacy, it is manifest that the sinking-fund herein authorized was primarily to be formed from coin, and that it was only to be invested and re-invested in securities whose interest was equally pledged in coin; that this process was not to be confined to any specific number of years, but was limited only by the a amount and the duration of the debt which was ultimediately to be redeemed by the sinking-fund thus const Cituted. The sinking-fund was thus to receive an annuable increment in coin amounting to the one-hundredth partit of the entire debt of the Government; and this incremenent was to be

Instead of the Government ha day to change its coin obligat seems to me that the public cree consistency allege that the Gove with them by failing to provid was guaranteed at the outset as ties of the loan. "But the argument does not construction of a statute to pr the five-twenties is payable in co Congress when the measure was numerous and specific. Indeed of payment was even hinted a chairman of the Ways and Mear peated in his assertions that the coin. He stated this fact no les speech of Feb. 6, 1862, giving i emphasis that iteration and reiter spoke of the "redemption in go one of the special inducements and he gave, in every form of wo inflightial position and great nam the coin tandard in the payment

made this startling statement in answer to a question addressed to him by my honorable friend from Ohio [Mr. Spalding], and the gentleman from Massachusetts has quoted it in his argument on this question as though it had been made when the five-twenty bill was originally introduced, and was to be taken as the authorized opinion of the Ways and Means Committee at that time. I have already shown that the gentleman from Pennsylvania was a firm advocate of coin payment, and that a considerable period had elapsed before he experienced his marvelous change of opinion on this question. But it is due to the gentleman from Pennsylvania to say that, late as he was in this declaration, he was in advance of other gentlemen who have since figured prominently as advocates of the doctrine. Should this scheme of repudiation ever succeed, it is but just to give the gentleman from Pennsylvania the honor of first proposing it. He announced it on this floor while yet the gentleman from Massachusetts was doing honorable service on the tented field, and while Mr. Pendleton was still adhering to those hard-money theories of which he was a conspicuous defender during his service in this Honse.

"But I digress. I was stating that while the original five-twenty bill was pending the declaration that the bonds were redeemable in coin was constantly repeated. It was the ground assumed by every member of the Committee of Ways and Means, so far as the record shows, and it was likewise the ground taken by the Finance Committee of the Senate, Mr. Fessenden and other members being on record in many ways to that effect. While so many gentlemen in both branches of Congress were repeating that these bonds were redeemable in coin, it is a significant circumstance, as already intimated, that no one ventured the opposite opinion. The universality of

the understanding at that time is that which renders a different construction now so reprehensible. Mr. Pendleton was present in his seat during the whole discussion of the measure, and he was an active and frequent participant therein. Then was his time to have enunciated his scheme of greenback payment if he ever intended it in good faith. As a gentleman of candor, however, I am sure he will confess that he never dreamed of such an idea till long after the bonds were purchased by the people, and possibly not until some prospect of party advantage lured him to the adoption of a theory which is equally at war with the letter of the law and with sound principles of finance.

" After the bill became a law Mr. Chase, the Secretary of the Treasury, proceeded to place the loan formally on the market, and following the uniform previous practice of the Government, and especially adopting the language used by Mr. Stevens, and other gentlemen in both branches of Congress, he officially proclaimed through the loan agents of the Government that the five-twenty bonds were "a six per cent loan, the interest and principal payable in coin." It was on this basis, with this understanding, with this public proclamation, that the people were asked to subscribe to the loan. They had the assurance of an unbroken practice on the part of the Government, rendered still more significant by the provision for a sinking fund in coin; they had the general assurance of both branches of Congress, especially expressed through the appropriate channels of the chairman of Finance in the Senate and the chairman of Ways and Means, in the House, and further and finally enforced by a distinct declaration to that effect by the public advertisement proposing the loan to the people, issued by the authority of the Secretary of the Treasury. If anything could constitute an honorable contract between borrower and lender—between Government and people—then was it a contract that the five-twenty bonds should be redeemed in coin.

"I have been thus minute, and possibly tedious, in regard to the facts attending the issue of the first series of five-twenties because in effect that established the rule for all subsequent issues. The principle laid down so clearly in the proposal for the first loan was steadily adhered to afterward. It is quite true that the chairman of Ways and Means [Mr. Stevens], as I have already said, changed his ground on the question, but he failed to influence Congress, notwithstanding his parade of terrible figures showing the utter impossibility of ever paying coin interest, to say nothing of coin principal. The gentleman can recall his statistics with amusement, if not with advantage, from that grave of unfulfilled prophecies to which he, in common with the rest of us, have sent many baseless predictions.

"The next loan bill passed by Congress was that of March 3, 1863, authorizing the borrowing of \$900,000,000. This is commonly known as the ten-forty act, and it contains the special provision that both principal and interest shall be payable in coin. But this provision was never inserted by way of discrimination against the five-twenties, implying that they were to be paid in paper currency. Its origin palpably discredits any such inference. It was moved as an amendment by Mr. Thomas of Massachusetts, and it was moved to meet and repel the first covert insinuation that any bond of the United States was redeemable in anything else than coin. The chairman of Ways and Means, in apparent forgetfulness of his declaration the preceding year, had for the first time intimated that the principal of United States bonds was payable in

paper money, and the amendment of Mr. Thomas, as the discussion reported in the Globe clearly discloses, was intended as a sharp protest against this heresy of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, and as such it was adopted by the House by a majority so overwhelming that its opponents did not call a division. During the discussion, Mr. Horton of Ohio, a distinguished member of the Ways and Means, and a gentleman of very high character in every respect, said:—

"I wish to state here that the Committee of Ways and Means, in framing this bill, never dreamed that these twenty-year bonds were to be payable in anything other than coin until the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Stevens] told it yesterday upon the floor of the House."

"In this connection I desire the special attention of the House to one fact of conclusive import, and it is this: at the time this ten-forty loan bill was passed, March 3, 1863, only \$25,000,000 of the five-twenty loan, authorized the year before, had been disposed of. It was in the succeeding summer and autumn of 1863, especially after the triumph of the Union arms at Vicksburg and Gettysburg, that those marvelous sales of \$500,000,000 were effected through the Government agency of Jay Cooke & Co. And yet the gentleman from Massachusetts would have us believe that the people subscribed for a loan of \$500,000,000 that was payable in five years in paper currency, when another loan, for a larger amount, to run forty years, expressly payable in coin, was already authorized and about to be put on the market. Such a conclusion cannot be reconciled even with the common sanity, to say nothing of the proverbial shrewdness, of those who invested their money in the five-twenty loan.

Every one can see, sir, that not one dollar of the five-twenty loan could have been disposed of on the understanding that the bonds were redeemable in currency, while another loan for a longer period, possibly at the same rate of interest, for the bill so allowed, and absolutely redeemable in coin, was already authorized, and immediately to be offered to the public.

"The next loan bill in the order of time was the act of March 3, 1864, which was merely supplementary to the ten-forty bill, whose history I have just reviewed. It covered the amount of \$200,000,000, and, like the bill to which it formed a supplement, it provided for both interest and principal to be paid in coin. Under this bill more than one hundred and seventy-five million dollars were negotiated, partly in ten-forties, and partly in fivetwenties; by far the greater part in the former. But as some five-twenties were negotiated under it, the gentleman from Massachusetts, even on the line of logic which he has sought to travel, will be compelled to acknowledge that they were payable in coin, and hence, according to his theory, some of the five-twenties are redeemable in coin and some in paper-a distinction which has never yet been proclaimed, and the equity of which would hardly be apparent to the holders of the same description of bonds-identical in phrase, and differing only in the subordinate and immaterial circumstance of date.

The last loan bill to which I need specially refer is that of June 30, 1864, under the provisions of which the five-twenties bearing that date were issued. The seven-thirties, authorized by the same act, as well as by the subsequent acts of Jan. 28 and March 3, 1865, were convertible into five-twenties of the same tenor and description with those whose issue was directly authorized; so that in reviewing the history of the loan bill of June 30, 1864, I

shall, in effect, close the narrative of Congressional proceedings in regard to five-twenty bonds. The history of that bill shall be brief. It was discussed in its various provisions very elaborately in both branches of Congress. As reported from the Ways and Means Committee it was worded like all previous bonds, promising to pay so many dollars to the holder, without specifying that they were to be any thing else than coin dollars, in which United States bonds had always been paid. Toward the close of the discussion Mr. Brooks of New York, then, as now, a member of this House, moved to insert an amendment providing especially that the bonds should be "payable in coin." Mr. Brooks was answered by Mr. Hooper of Massachusetts, on behalf of the Ways and Means Committee, as follows:—

"The bill of last year, the \$900,000,000 bill, contained these words, but it was not deemed necessary or considered expedient to insert them in this bill. I will send to the desk and ask to have read, as a part of my reply to the gentleman from New York, a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury giving his views upon this point."

The Clerk read as follows from Secretary Chase's letter dated May 18, 1864:—

"It has been the constant usage of the Department to redeem all coupon and registered bonds, forming part of the funded or permanent debt of the United States, in coin, and this usage has not been deviated from during my administration of its affairs.

"The five-twenty sixes, payable twenty years from date, though redeemable after five years, are considered as belonging to the funded or permanent debt, and so also are the twenty years sixes, into which the three years



Mrs. James G. Blaine, Jr.

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seven-thirty notes are convertible. These bonds, therefore, according to the usage of the Government, are payable in coin."

"Apparently satisfied with this statement, Mr. Brooks withdrew his amendment, regarding the point as conclusively settled I suppose, not only by the uniform practice of the Government, but by the special declaration of the Secretary of the Treasury, who immediately afterward proceeded on the basis of that letter to put the bonds on the market. Mr. Hooper stated the case well when he said it was "not deemed necessary or considered expedient" to insert coin payment in this bill; "not necessary," for the practice of the Government, and the assurances of the Treasury Department in its advertisements in proposing for loans, conclusively settled the point; and not "considered expedient," because to specially insert coin payment in all the loan bills except that of Feb. 25, 1862, under which \$500,000,000, of five-twenties had been sold, might, in the end, by the exclusio unius, give some shadow of ground for the mischievous and groundless inference which is now sought to be drawn.

"We thus find that the voice of Congress has been uniform and consistent in support of the principle of paying the bonded debt in coin. No vote in Congress, even implying the opposite theory, has ever been given; even the weighty influence and conceded ability of the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania failing to carry with him any support whatever when he made his surprising and unprecedented change on this question. But the public creditors did not rely solely on the declarations of leading men in Congress in regard to coin payment, nor did they rest wholly on the past practice and the good faith of the Government. They had, in addition to both these strong

grounds of confidence and assurance, the more direct and explicit guaranty of the Treasury Department, the authorized agent of the Government, speaking ex cathedra, with the knowledge and assent of Congress.

"I have already quoted Secretary Chase's significant declarations in his letters and his public proposals for loans, and I have now to quote one of his equally significant acts. At the close of 1862 the twenty year loan of 1842, amounting to nearly three million dollars, fell due. Nothing was said in that loan about coin payment, and thus a grand opportunity was afforded to test the theory of paper payment. Circumstances all conspired to favor such a policy if it could be honorably adopted. Gold was at a high premium, and the Government was passing through the darkest and most doubtful hours of the whole struggle. Could there have been even a decent pretext to pay the debt in paper currency the temptation was surely great enough to resort to it, if not fully to justify it. But in the face of all the adverse circumstances; with gold very high and daily rising; with expenses enormous and daily increasing; with resources already embarrassed and daily growing more so, and with a military situation rendered well-nigh desperate by months of almost unbroken disaster, Secretary Chase decided that the faith of the Government demanded that its funded debt, falling due no matter when and owned by no matter whom, must be paid in coin. And it was paid in coin; and no voice but the voice of approval was raised in either branch of Congress. The course of Secretary Chase was not only honorable to himself and the country, but it was in the highest degree wise merely from the stand-point of worldly wisdom; for it created so profound a confidence in the good faith of our Government that it aided us incalculably in the negotiation of all our great loans for the war.

When the Government paid its debt to the uttermost farthing at such a time, capitalists at once argued that there never could come a crisis when any evasion of public obligation would be resorted to. It has been reserved for the gentleman from Massachusetts, and the gentleman from Ohio, and the gentleman from Pennsylvania, to propose that our Government should adopt a policy in the sunshine and prosperity of peace which it scorned to resort to in the storms and adversities of war.

"The course of Secretary Chase in guarantying coin payment on all bonds of the United States was followed by his successors, Secretary Fessenden and Secretary McCulloch. The words of Mr. Fessenden are entitled to great weight in the premises, for he had been chairman of Finance in the Senate during the passage of all the loan bills, had elaborately discussed them in turn, and had as largely as any single member in either branch of Congress, shaped their provisions. His views on the question at issue may be briefly presented by the following extract from his official report made to Congress in December, 1864:—

"Though forced to resort to the issue of paper for the time, the idea of a specie basis was not lost sight of, as the payment of interest on long loans in coin was amply secured. And though in several of the acts authorizing the issue of bonds at long periods payment of the principal at maturity in coin is not specifically provided, the omission, it is believed, was accidental, as there could have been no intention to make a distinction between the different classes of securities in this regard."

"It will be noted that this declaration of Mr. Fessenden made in his official report, was at the very time of the negotiation of five-twenties of 1864, and preceded the large sale of seven-thirties which were convertible in five-twenties. So that in effect it was an addition guaranty of coin payment on the part of the Government operating at once as the condition and inducement of the loan.

It is well known that Secretary McCulloch entertain precisely the same opinions that were so freely expressibly Messrs. Chase and Fessenden, and he placed himse on record on the question by his letter to L. P. Morton Co. of New York, wherein he says, under date of Nov. I 1866:—

"I regard, as did also my predecessors, all bonds of the United States as payable in coin. The bonds which has matured since the suspension of specie payments has been so paid, and I have no doubt that the same will true with all others. This being, as I understand it be, the established policy of the Government, the fix twenty bonds of 1862 will either be called in at the expration of five years from their date and paid in coin, be permitted to run until the Government is prepared pay them in coin."

In view of the uniform declarations of the Treasu Department, made through official reports, through pub proposals for loans, and through personal letters of assuance, all guarantying coin payment of the five-twen bonds, I submit that the Government is bound there even if there were no other obligation expressed or implied These official and unofficial promulgations from the Treasury department were made with the full knowled of Congress, and without the slightest expression of disent on the part of that body. Had Congress not believ or intended that the five-twenty bonds were to be paid

coin the Secretary should not have been allowed with its evident assent so to advertise; and for Congress, after this significant permission and warrant to step forward at this late day and declare itself not bound by the conditions published by the Secretary is simply to place the United States Government in the position of a man playing a "confidence game" in which the Treasury Department and Congress are the confederate knaves, and the whole mass of bondholders the unfortunate victims.

But now, Mr. Chairman, suppose, for the sake of argument, we admit that the Government may fairly and legally pay the five-twenty bonds in paper currency, what then? I ask the gentleman from Massachusetts to tell us. what then? It is easy, I know, to issue as many greenbacks as will pay the maturing bonds, regardless of the effect upon the inflation of prices and the general derangement of business. Five hundred millions of the fivetwenties are now payable, and according to the mode suggested all we have to do is to set the printing-presses in motion, and "so long as rags and lampblack hold out" we need have no embarrassment about paying our national debt. But the ugly question recurs, What are you going to do with the greenbacks thus put affoat? Five hundred millions this year, and eleven hundred millions more on this theory of payment by the year 1872, so that within the period of four or five years we would have added to our paper money the trifling inflation of \$1,600,-000,000.

"Payment of the five-twenty bonds in paper currency involves, therefore, a limitless issue of greenbacks, with attendant evils of great magnitude. The worst evil of the whole is the delusion which calls this a payment at all. It is no payment in any proper sense, for it neither gives the creditor what he is entitled to, nor does it release the

debtor from subsequent responsibility. You may get rid of the five-twenty by issuing the greenback, but how will you get rid of the greenback except by paying coin? The only escape from ultimate payment of coin is to declare that as a nation we permanently and finally renounce all idea of ever attaining a specie standard; that we launch ourselves upon an ocean of paper money, without shore or sounding, with no rudder to guide us and no compass to steer by. This is precisely what is involved if we adopt this mischievous suggestion of "a new way to pay old debts." Our fate in attempting such a course may be easily read in the history of similar follies both in Europe and in our own country. Prostration of credit, financial disaster, wide-spread distress among all classes of the community, would form the closing scenes in our career of gratuitous folly and national dishonor. From such an abyss of sorrow and humiliation it would be a painful and toilsome effort to regain as sound a position in our finances as we are asked voluntarily to abandon to-day."

It was thus Mr. Blaine's good fortune, or better, his ability to grasp a grave situation, which brought him forward to grapple with the financial heresy which afterwards engrossed so much public attention. Through his timely effort it went forth winged and incapable of lasting hurt. No effort of Mr. Blaine's so commended him to universal attention. The subject was far reaching and his treatment of it was so masterly that, the public opinion of the country swung toward the right standard of financial and national honor, and he took a place in public esteem, if not higher, at least more general than any he had ever held. From the able, brilliant, indefatigable, consistent Maine man he became the comprehensive national man, and that, too, with a fervency of admiration which would

be satisfied with nothing short of the richest gift of confidence and honors.

In the regular long session of the Fortieth Congress which met Dec. 2, 1867, and adjourned July 27, 1868, the antagonism to President Johnson and his defiance of the Tenure of Office Act led to his impeachment. This important case engrossed much of the time of legislators. but it did not distract the attention of such men as Mr. Blaine from pressing duties. If any thing, he was more indefatigable than ever, and being a recognized leader of his party, more than the ordinary share of responsibilities fell to his lot. Bills, resolutions, hearings, reports and speeches kept him in a state of constant activity. He was directly connected by committee-work, or as the originator of measures concerning the army, navy, post-office, Congressional library, Indian reservations, relief of individuals, common carriers between the States, Treasury Department, cotton tax, issue of U. S. bonds, Funding bill, Mexican treaties, foreign commerce, election cases, river and harbor improvement, Funeral of Ex-President Buchanan, Custom-house frauds, House Rules, military laws, the re-arrangement of the rooms of the Capitol, and even matters concerning the messengers, pages and restaurant-keeper.

The question of the currency would not down. It seemed to be the one and chief desire of the Democratic party to disparage National money and National credit by sowing discontent respecting them, and thus vindicate, as far as possible, the defeat sustained by their brethren in arms in the South. In all their attempts they found an alert opponent in Mr. Blaine. No matter in what shape the enemies of the National credit presented their attacks he was ever ready to confront them. We have seen how be met them when they proposed to disparage the securities by

making interest and principal payable in paper. He again met them when they proposed to tax these securities and reduce them to the level of a commodity. His speech in this instance was vigorous and able. It was delivered in Committee of the Whole on June 23, 1868, and was as follows:—

"MR. CHAIRMAN,—The fact that the bonds of the United States are exempt from State and municipal taxation has created discontent among the people,—the belief prevailing quite generally that if this exemption could be removed the local burdens of the tax-payer would be immediately and essentially lightened. Many persons assert this belief from a spirit of mischievous demagogism, and many do so from sincere conviction. To the latter class I beg to submit some facts and suggestions which may modify if not entirely change their conclusions.

"The total coin-bearing debt of the United States, the conversions of seven-thirties being now practically completed, amounts to a little more than twenty-one hundred million dollars; of this large amount, some two hundred millions draw but five per cent interest, a rate not sufficiently high in the present condition of the money market to provoke hostility or suggest the especial necessity of taxation. Indeed it may be safely said that there never has been any popular dissatisfaction with regard to the non-taxation of the five per cents, it being agreed by common consent that such a rate of interest was not unreasonable on a loan negotiated at such a time.

"The agitation may, therefore, be regarded as substantially confined to the six per cent coin-bearing bonds, which amount to nineteen hundred millions of dollars. Many people honestly but thoughtlessly believe that if this class of bonds could be taxed by local authority the

whole volume represented by them would at once be added to the lists of the assessor. It is my purpose to show that this conclusion is totally unfounded, and that if the right of local taxation existed in its amplest extent, but a minor fraction of the bonds could by any possibility be subjected to larger local tax than they already pay.

"The entire amount of these bonds, as I have stated, is nineteen hundred million dollars; and of this total, by the best and most careful estimates attainable, at least six hundred and fifty millions are now held in Europe. This amount could not, therefore, be reached by any system of local taxation, however searching. Deducting the amount thus held abroad, we find the amount held at home is reduced to twelve hundred and fifty million dollars.

"But of this twelve hundred and fifty millions more than one-third, or to speak with accuracy, about four hundred and twenty-five millions, are held by the national banks, and no form of property in the United States pays so large a tax, both local and general, as these The stock, the depositories, and the deposits banks. which these four hundred and twenty-five millions of bonds represent pay full local tax at the highest rate, besides a national tax averaging about two and a half per cent. Were the power of local taxation made specific on the bonds held by the national banks, they could not yield a dollar more than is now realized. It thus follows that the twelve hundred and fifty millions of bonds in this country, presumptively escaping local taxation, must be reduced by the amount represented by the banks, and hence we find the aggregate falls to eight hundred and twenty-five millions.

"The reduction, however, goes still farther, for it must be remembered that the savings banks have invested their deposits in these bonds to the amount of one hundred and seventy-five millions. In some States by local law the deposits of savings banks are exempt from taxation, as an incentive to thrift and economy. In other States, where these deposits are taxed, as in Connecticut, it has been held by judicial decision that the fact of their investment in United States bonds does not exempt them from taxation. Hence these one hundred and seventy-five millions, thus invested in savings-bank deposits, are either locally taxable, or, if exempt, it is by State law and not by virtue of the general exemption of the bonds. It thus follows that the eight hundred and twenty-five millions must be further reduced by this sum of one hundred and seventy-five millions, leaving but six hundred and fifty millions not already included within the scope of local taxation.

"But there is a still further reduction of thirty millions of bonds held by the life insurance companies on precisely the same terms as the deposits of savings banks—that is, either taxed locally, or, if exempt, deriving the exemption from the local law. The surplus earnings and reserves of these life insurance companies invested to the extent of thirty millions in the United States bonds are as open to taxation when invested in that form as though they were held in State or railroad securities. Deducting these thirty millions we find the untaxed bonds reduced to six

hundred and twenty millions.

"There is still another large reduction; for the fire and marine insurance companies, the annuity and trust companies and other corporations which cannot readily be classed, hold in the aggregate over one hundred and twenty-five millions of bonds; and these are held on precisely the same basis as those held by the savings bank and the life insurance companies. These numerous corporations have their capital stock, their reserves and their surplus earnings invested in Government bonds to the extent named, and they are in this form as open to taxation and are actually taxed as much as though they were invested in any other form of security. Making the deduction of this one hundred and twenty-five millions we find remaining but four hundred and ninety-five millions of the six per cent gold-bearing bonds that are not already practically subjected to local taxation. Allowing for the possibility that one hundred millions of the five per cents are held instead of six per cents in all the channels of investment I have named, and it follows that at the outside figure there are to-day in the whole country less than six hundred millions of Government sixes, not fully subjected to the power of local taxation. And these six hundred millions are rapidly growing less as the various corporate institutions I have named continue to invest their funds in the bonds. These institutions desire a security that is of steady value, not liable to fluctuation, and at all times convertible into money; and hence they seek Government bonds in preference to any other form of investment. The high premium on the bonds induces individuals to part with them, and hence they are readily transferred to corporate ownership, where they become in effect at once subject to local taxation and are no longer obnoxious to the charge of evading or escaping their just share of municipal burden. In the hands of individuals the bonds may be concealed, but in the possession of corporations concealment is necessarily impossible.

"If these statistical statements needed any verification it would be supplied by an examination of the income returns recently made under oath and published in all the large cities of the country, disclosing the fact that the amount of bonds held by the wealthy men of the country has been continually growing less, just as they have been absorbed by foreign purchase and by corporate investment. The correctness of these income returns in reference to the investment in bonds will be accepted even by the incredulous and the uncharitable, when it is remembered that the interest of those making them was to exaggerate rather than depreciate the respective amounts of bonds held by them. Instead, then, of nineteen hundred millions of these bonds running free of taxation, it is clear that less than six hundred millions are open to that charge—less than one-third of the whole amount. The remainder, largely more than two-thirds of the whole, are either held abroad, where no local taxation can reach them, or they are held at home in such form as subjects them to local taxation.

"Let us suppose that we were now in possession of the full power to tax by local authority these six hundred millions of bonds presumptively owned by individuals! Would we realize any thing from it? On its face the prospect might be fair and inviting, but in practice it would assuredly prove delusive and deceptive. The trouble would be that the holders of the bond could not be found. No form of property is so easily concealed, none so readily transferred back and forth, none so difficult to trace to actual ownership. We have hundreds of millions of State bonds, city bonds and railroad securities in this country, and yet every one knows that it is only an infinitesimal proportion of this vast investment that is ever represented on the books of assessors and taxcollectors. As a pertinent illustration, I might cite the case of the bonds of my own State, of which there are over five millions in existence to-day, largely held as a favorite investment by the citizens of Maine. Of this whole sum I am safe in saying that scarcely a dollar is found on the lists of any assessor in the State.

"The facility for concealing ownership in national bonds is far greater than in any other form of security, and the proportion in the hands of individuals that would escape the assessment of local taxes may be inferred with reasonable certainty from the analogies I have suggested, which are familiar to all who have given the least attention to the subject. Indeed, I venture to assert with confidence that if the power of local taxation of these bonds were fully accorded to-day, the tax-lists of our cities and towns would not be increased on an average one per cent. Many of those who to-day may be ambitious to parade their bonds when protected by what is deemed an offensive exemption, would suddenly have no bonds when the power of taxation applied to them. Indeed, the utter failure to realize any thing from this source, if the power to test it were granted, would in the end create more dissatisfaction than that exemption, which, in theory, is offensive, but in practice is absolutely of no consequence whatever.

"But it may be asked, 'Why are not the bonds taxed by national authority?' Granted, it will be urged, that the power of local taxation would be nugatory and valueless, 'that affords all the stronger reason for taxing the bonds by direct Congressional enactment.' In answer to this I have only to say that a tax levied directly upon the coupon is simply an abatement of interest, and that result can be reached in a better and more satisfactory and more honorable way. The determination manifested by this Congress and by the great Republican convention at Chicago to maintain the national faith, has already worked a large appreciation in the value of the bonds, and with the strengthening of our credit, which results from an honest policy, we shall speedily be able to fund our debt on a lower scale of interest, running down to five, four

and a half, and ultimately to four per cent. per annum. Should we proceed, however, in violation of good faith and of the uniform practice of civilized nations, to hold back part of the stipulated interest instead of effecting an honorable exchange of bonds to the mutual advantage of the Government and the public creditor, we should only punish ourselves, produce calamitous results in the business world, and permanently injure our national fame.

"To withold one per cent. of the interest under the plea of a national tax this year might be followed by withholding two per cent. next year and three per cent. the year ensuing. To enter upon such a policy would produce alarm at home and distrust abroad, for every man holding a bond would be forced to count his rate of interest not on what was stipulated in the contract, but on what might be the will and caprice of Congress in its annual withholding of a portion of the interest under the pretense of a tax. Under such a policy our bonds would be returned upon us from Europe with panic-like rapidity, and the drain upon our specie resources would produce an immediate and disastrous crisis in monetary circles. If even one-half of our bonds held in Europe were suddenly sent home it would drain us of two hundred and fifty millions of specie, and the financial distress throughout the land would be beyond the power of calculation or imagination. And yet that is the precise result involved if we should follow the policy advocated by those who urge us to tax the coupon and withhold one or two per cent. of the interest. Let us reject such counsels, and adhere to the steady, straightforward course dictated alike by good policy and good faith. Let us never forget that in the language of the Chicago platform, "the best policy to diminish our burden of debt is to so improve our credit that capitalists will seek to loan

us money at lower rates of interest than we now pay, and must continue to pay so long as repudiation, either partial or total, open or covert, is threatened or suspected."

During 1868 Mr. Blaine again received the nomination for Congress in his district. General Grant also received the nomination for the Presidency at Chicago, May 20, 1868. Horatio Seymour was nominated by the Democrats. The campaign was unusually active, and as to the Republicans it involved their Reconstruction measures, equal suffrage, and the maintainance of the National credit. Mr. Blaine was in hearty accord with all these measures, and he took a hearty interest in the canvass. His outline of the situation, as given in Augusta, Me., on July 11, 1868, could not be surpassed for accuracy and emphasis. It was as follows:—

"Fellow-Citizens,—If now, at the beginning of the National campaign, leaving out of sight for the moment all the political issues between the two parties, you were simply called upon to select an officer to execute the laws of the United States, and were, moreover, compelled to make your selection between the two men now most prominently before the public, which would you take,—General Grant, or Governor Seymour? I have put in the form of an hypothesis that which is indeed the actual condition of the case; because every citizen of the United States, whatever considerations may govern his vote, will really be compelled to choose between the two men I have named.

"If I were empowered to answer for you, I should say that a man more highly gifted with the executive talent than Ulysses S. Grant could not be found within the limits of the United States. He is silent, prompt, punctual and decisive, with clear and quick judgment, without irritability of temper, with wonderful self-command. He is not under the sway of imagination, is not influenced by sentiment, sees things as a realist, precisely as they are. He is not moved by any consideration outside of the line of plain matter of duty. He has no partisan prejudices, has grown up without party attachment, and would administer the Government without the slightest danger of undue influence from party consideration. If to be a politician is, as many persons think, a disability for a President, you can certainly feel assured that General Grant has no touch or taint of that kind.

"On the other hand, I should say of Horatio Seymour, that, while an accomplished politician, he is markedly deficient in the executive talent. He is an irresolute, if not timid, man, who is disposed to balance public and partisan considerations so nicely that he rarely reaches an absolute conclusion, and certainly never reaches one in time for prompt action. In the struggle between the temptations of party obligation and of conscience, he is always in doubt, too often in danger. He is, at the same time, a man of unquestioned ability, apparently frank, and perhaps meaning to be so even when he fails in the moment of trial to maintain and exhibit that manly quality. He is personally a most amiable and agreeable gentleman; and his strong hold upon the Democratic party of New York, and thence upon the Democratic party of the Nation, is due to the charm of his manners as much as to his ability, which friend and foe acknowledge to be of a high order.

From these brief outlines and characteristics, if I have stated them correctly, it will be seen that in respect to executive ability there is no ground for comparison, but only for contrast, between the two men. The one is gifted in the highest degree with the quality we are discussing: the other is so deficient that we cannot in fair-

ness speak of his possessing it at all. The one has shown his great powers of command in the most critical exigencies in which a man can be placed: the other was tried only once by a condition of affairs which demanded instant decision and promptness of action, and he failed. How long, if I may interpolate the question, do you suppose a blind, ignorant, unled mob could have held control of the American metropolis, if General Grant had been Governor of New York?

The contrast between General Grant and Governor Seymour grows more marked the longer we look at the record of each. In fact, it is a striking illustration of the good temper and good discipline of our people, and of the mutual respect of political parties, that we are so enlisted in the Presidential contest as to treat each candidate with the same courtesy in the arena of public discussion. Indeed, we seem to be in danger of forgetting that the Republican candidate is none other than the great commander of the Union armies which subdued the rebellion, and thereby restored the Union; and we seem equally in danger of not remembering that the Democratic candidate is none other than that Governor of New York who was a stumbling-block to President Lincoln at the very crisis of the civil struggle, and who, when the rebels were pushed to the last point of resistance, joined in a National Convention of the Democratic party, and demanded that the war should cease and that the rebels should be invited into a conference, while their armies lay waiting the result. It certainly should stir the blood of men who were heartily loyal to the Government through the civil war, who rejoiced at every Union victory, and were cast down by every rebel success, to see the candidacy of General Grant opposed by the candidacy of Horatio Seymour, who, if not himself disloyal to the Government, excited disloyalty in others, and whose whole course, during the four years of strife, increased the burden placed upon the National Government, and inspired the Confederacy to greater vigor by the dissatisfaction with the war which his leadership created throughout the North.

"To go a little farther into an analysis of the respective characters of these two men, let me say that Governor Seymour possesses a talent for political misrepresentation beyond that, I think, of any other public man in the United States. I do not mean misrepresentation of a broad and vulgar type, underlaid and overlaid with falsehood, but misrepresentation by inference, or by the suggestion of a fact which, while a fact, leaves an utterly misleading impression upon the mind of the hearer. I can, perhaps, better illustrate this habit of Governor Seymour's mind by an incident, than by merely abstract reference to it. On the 25th of June, a week or more preceding the late Democratic National Convention, Governor Seymour made a somewhat notable speech at a meeting of his partisans in Cooper Institute. In assailing the administration of the Government by Republicans, he made this statement-and I give it in his exact language, in order that I may not, myself, be in any degree subject to the same charge which I have brought against Mr. Seymour :-

"Since the war closed, in 1865, the Government has spent, in addition to its payments on the principal or interest of the public debt, more than one thousand millions of dollars. Of this sum there has been nearly eight hundred millions spent on the army and the navy, and for military purposes. This is nearly one-third of the National debt. This was spent in time of peace."

[&]quot;The fact which Governor Seymour in this statement

evidently sought to impress upon his hearers was, that in a time of profound peace the military and naval expenses of the Government, under Republican rule, were at the rate of some two hundred and seventy millions per annum. He did not in explicit terms say two hundred and seventy millions a year, but he said eight hundred millions for three years, as though the expenditure was spread over the whole period.

"What now are the facts of the case? When the war closed in April, 1865,—and I stated these facts in the House of Representatives, only two days after Governor Seymour's speech,-the armies of the Union bore on their rolls the names of nearly a million of men, and our navy, in its widely extended duty of blockading three thousand miles of coast, had nearly five hundred vessels in service, with, of course, a great many thousand sailors on board. The immediate result of National victory on land and sea was the mustering out of these countless hosts of men. Many months of pay were due to more than half the army; the bounty, to which those who served during the war were entitled, was due to all, and must now be paid. The pay of the sailors was as much in arrears as the pay of the soldiers, and, besides, in settling, they were entitled to receive millions of prize money which they had honestly earned. The enormous amount required for these closing settlements was readily provided, because the Government had unlimited credit in its hour of victory. I visited the Treasury Department, in order to get the material to answer Governor Seymour, and I received an official statement showing that the disbursements on account of the army and navy for the one hundred and seventy-four days following General Grant's closing victory over Lee, amounted to six hundred and twentyfive millions of dollars. Thus it will be seen that more than three-fourths of the eight hundred millions of dollars of war and navy expenses, which Governor Seymour says have been paid by the Government within the last three years, were really disbursed in what might be called a lump sum at the close of hostilities, when we settled with the soldiers and sailors, and paid them in ready cash for the service in which they had so honorably and so faithfully acquitted themselves.

"Of this great sum of six hundred and twenty-five millions of dollars, ninety-five millions were paid from the current revenues of the Government, and the loyal people advanced five hundred and thirty millions by subscribing that amount to the seven-thirty loan; and yet the transaction is deliberately misrepresented by Governor Seymour, in making it appear that the entire outlay was the ordinary disbursement for War and Navy in a time of peace. With the six hundred and twenty-five millions deducted, it will be seen that the expenses of War and of Navy, for these last three years, have been but one hundred and seventy-five millions, or a little more than fifty-eight millions per annum, for both branches of the National defense.

"Thus reduced, Governor Seymour's figures approximate the truth, and they exhibit a careful economy on the part of the Government. Go back ten years, to Mr. Buchanan's Administration, with an army far less than has been maintained for safety since the close of the war, with a navy not nearly so large as that now in commission, the two branches of the service cost forty millions of dollars. Taking the difference in the amount of force, and the fact that the expenditures of 1858 were in coin, while those of the present time are in paper, considerably depreciated, every candid man will see that the Government outlays for the past three years have been on a more

economic scale than were mantained during the past Democratic Administration that was in power.

"I have gone into this detail for the purpose, not merely of stopping an injurious mis-statement as to Government expenditure, but especially to illustrate the skillful way in which Governor Seymour conveys a charge that is inherently and intrinsically untrue. It was Prince Talleyrand, I think, who, in speaking of two distinguished European diplomatists, said that "the one lies, but never deceives; while the other deceives, but never lies." I think that if Governor Seymour should change his public relations from an accomplished politician to become, as I have no doubt he would, a most skillful diplomatist, he would be cousin-german to the second type referred to by Talleyrand. I would match him against the whole school of diplomacy in Europe, for deceiving without actually stating a falsehood, -compounding with his conscience by accuracy of verbal statement, and charging whatever erroneous impression was created, not to his own lack of candor, but to the dullness and lack of information on the part of those who could so easily be made the victims of a polite misunderstanding.

"Let me ask now, fellow-citizens, if it would not read very strangely in history, should this patriotic American people, on the occasion of the first Presidential election after they had escaped the danger of war and restored the integrity and strength of the Government, deny the highest honor of the Republic to the chief military leader who conquered the rebellion, and bestow it upon the man the aggregate of whose efforts and influence was steadily and heavily against the Administration charged with the maintenance of the Union? I think no one will deny, when the time comes that we may coolly look back upon the conduct of Governor Seymour while he was in the

executive chair of New York, or upon his course as a leader of the Democratic party, taking active part in the National Convention of 1864, that his influence was hurtful to the Union cause. Mr. Lincoln thought so, and Mr. Stanton thought so, and all the leading generals in the field thought so. As Cromwell, in his agony, asked that the Lord might deliver him from Sir Harry Vane, so President Lincoln must have often cried, in his trouble, to be delivered from Horatio Seymour. The spirit of Mr. Seymour's action, even when the form was in compliance with patriotic duty, was such as to incite a spirit of resistance to the necessary policy of the National Administration.

"The personal aspects of this contest are so striking, and withal so important, that I make no apology or explanation for putting the considerations which grow out of them in the forefront of the argument. The largest issue after all is that on one side General Grant is the candidate, and on the other Governor Seymour is the candidate. I do not recall any Presidential contest in which the personality of the two candidates entered so largely into the struggle, and embodied in fact so much of the actual issue at stake. All the questions that grow out of the war, all the patriotic and inspiring issues, all the antagonisms and hatreds, are reproduced and represented in these two men; and I am sure that the contest will, in a very remarkable degree, proceed, not upon mere personal differences between the two, but on the public questions which these personal differences actually stand for.

"There is another feature in the Democratic position which serves to give point and emphasis to the meaning of their platform. Ordinarily the nomination of a Vice-President is not of special significance, but the Democratic

Convention this year have made their selection of that candidate full of meaning, bristling, indeed, with dangerous import. General Frank Blair, who has many things in his past record to commend him to patriotic favor, has drifted, with the Blair tendency, back into the Democratic party. It is impossible, or rather has been impossible, for any one of the Blairs—the father or either of the two sons-to be moderate on any political issue; and so, at this time, General Frank Blair, having been fully re-admitted to the Democratic ranks, signalizes his change by out-Heroding Herod, running ahead of the extremists of the South. He demands that the Reconstruction laws shall simply be overturned by violence. He does not propose to wait for their repeal by Congress, or for their unconstitutionality to be declared by the Supreme Court, but simply that the President shall declare all the Acts to be null and void,-I am quoting his own words,-and compel the army to dispossess the carpet-bag State governments, allow the white people to re-organize their own governments and elect senators and representatives. Mr. Blair has certainly made the largest bid for the support of Southern rebeldom that any Democrat has yet offered. He proposes to revolutionize the Government by force, and put the rebels in power, -not because they are right, not because his proposition would be just or lawful, but simply because they are "white men." Mr. Blair's nomination is a fitting supplement and complement to Mr. Seymour's candidacy. During the war, Blair was loyal and did gallant and valuable service in the field; while Mr. Seymour did his best, inside the lines of prudence, to nd embarrass the Government. In time of peace, I think likely, if Mr. Seymour were let alone, that he we observe the law; while Mr. Blair, having become fat ress, in with upholding Constitutional Government, prope to overthrow the law by violence. It would have been a better arrangement for the two men on the Democratic ticket to have acted together during the war. Certainly it would have been better for Seymour to have co-operated with Blair in time of war; and perhaps it might be better for Blair to co-operate with Seymour in time of peace. I have seen nothing in the menace of Governor Seymour's position that leads me to think he would attempt to overthrow the existing body of laws by violence; and yet the fact that Blair took this ground in advance of the Convention, secured his nomination, and will in many States, so far as Democratic votes can contribute, strengthen the ticket.

"The platform upon which Messrs. Seymour and Blair stand reads as if it were written by lineal descendants of Robespierre and Marat, and as if the country stood on the eve of a revolution, instead of at the close of a rebellion. In the judgment of the Convention which framed this indictment, everything that exists in the Government at present is wrong, every law is unwise, every officer is corrupt, and the people who, according to general apprehension, are in a state of remarkable prosperity, are really suffering an intolerable series of burdens, and are ground down by every oppression. The Democrats are determined to tax the Government bonds, in order to impair the Government credit; they are determined that there shall be no coin payment of Government obligations, that everybody shall be amnestied, and practically that the late rebels shall take charge of the National Administration. The platform reads, indeed, as if it had been written by

'intensely nervous man just recovering from an attack whiclirium tremens.

of their Republicans, according to this intoxicated plat-Presidente nullified the right of trial by jury, destroyed the most sacred muniments of liberty, overthrown the freedom of speech and of the press, disregarded the rights of the people to be free from search and seizure, seized everybody's private papers, invaded the post-office and telegraph, converted the American capital into a Bastile, established a system of spies and official espionage to which no European Government would dare resort, abolished the right of appeal on Constitutional questions. The crazy platform further declares that the corruption and extravagance of the Government have exceeded any thing in history, and have, by means of frauds and monopolies, nearly doubled the debt created by the war. It affirms that 'under the repeated assaults of these wicked Republicans the pillars of Government are rocking on their bases; and in case' (here comes the most dreadful indictment of all) 'they shall carry the election and make General Grant President, we will meet only as a subjected and conquered people, amid the ruins of liberty and the scattered fragments of the Constitution.'

"I am sure that it would be dignifying this tirade far too much to attempt to meet it with argument, or even with a denial. The best answer to it is to read it. Reading it, we can readily infer the character and aims of the men who are guilty of its stupendous folly. The platform will only serve for ridicule in the campaign, to be jeered and laughed at! But the real issue will come back to the point where it started: Do you not prefer Ulysses S. Grant to Horatio Seymour, as the next President of the United States? And do you not think that Schuyler Colfax is better to be trusted, as Vice-President, than the man who has talked so lightly, threatened so loudly, and behaved so absurdly as General Frank Blair?"

Mr. Blaine was elected to the Forty-first Congress, in 1868, by a majority of 8,246. The elections of the year vindicated Republican principles, Grant having been chosen President by a majority of 134 electoral votes. The second session of the Fortieth Congress met on Dec. 7, 1868. The leading political measure was the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, conferring the right of suffrage on all citizens without distinction of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." This important measure passed Feb. 25, 1869, and it had no firmer adherent nor abler expounder than Mr. Blaine.

This session ended his third term in Congress. The times had been perilous. Strong men were in constant demand. Patriotism was at a premium. Mr. Blaine had plunged, as it were, into a turbulent sea. At his age thousands would have been swamped. He, however, clung to the ship of State with the energy of youth and the instinct of a born navigator. Soon he was on deck among the old mariners. When storms roared loudest he was among the masts and shrouds. When rocks peered and shoals threatened he was by the wheelman, and finally at the wheel itself, the serenest, levelest-headed, most perspicacious mariner of all. History has few such promotions to record. He had enlarged with every pressing occasion. He had kept touch with sentiment in the most trying exigencies. He had made sentiment where the ordeal demanded. Three terms in Congress saw him a leader of his party. All parties conceded his ability. He was about to receive additional honors, not as an expedient, but because he had earned them.

CHAPTER IX.

IN THE FORTY-FIRST CONGRESS; AS SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE.

THE Forty-first Congress was called into extra session by President Grant, on March 4th, 1869. There were large Republican majorities in both Houses, the House standing 149 Republicans to 64 Democrats. The object of the extra session was to secure new legislation respecting the admission of those seceded States, which had refused to ratify the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution.

In organizing the House for this delicate work it was necessary to place its ablest parliamentarian in the Speaker's chair. It had lost the efficient services of Mr. Colfax. who had been elected Vice President of the United States. What so natural as to turn to Mr. Blaine in such a crisis. He was thoroughly acquainted with men, the entire field of duty before him, the measures which dominated reconstruction and vitally concerned the national credit, the currency of the country and its commercial welfare. Republicanism was of the most pronounced type-stalwart to the core. His education as Speaker of the Maine House of Representatives, which had all along availed him much, came to his rescue when in search of the honors of Speaker of the Na onal House. His knowledge of the manual, his recollection of names, his fairness and firmness, his quickness of perception, his ability to expedite business, his wonderful control of self and of exciting situations,

his magnetic qualities of leadership, all conspired to make his candidacy for the Speakership desirable and sure. He was therefore nominated for this important position by acclamation in the Republican caucus of the Forty-first Congress, at its extra session, and was elected by 186 votes as against 57 cast for Mr. Kerr, the Democratic candidate. So efficient did he prove in this difficult position that similar honors awaited him in the Forty-second and Forty-third Congresses.

Ordinarily the brilliant qualities of the member on the floor are obscured by elevation to the Speakership. His identity with public measures is apt to be somewhat lost. But Mr. Blaine's interest in the political measures he had been identified with so long and honorably did not flag. He did what few men are capable of, to wit, win a reputation as a fair and capable parliamentarian, which, if possible, added to the prestige he had achieved on the floor. There really seemed to be no number to the many sides of his qualifications and no bottom to his resources. Emergencies arose thick and fast in those days of momentous questions and fierce party clashes, but he preserved a dignity worthy his high position and met new situations with perfect equipoise. There was that about his ministration which drew the favor of both parties, and proved him a man not only of striking aptitude but remarkable for his ability to control the passions of an assembly and direct its procedure. It was these same qualities in him which passed beyond the limits of Congress and away out to the country, and taught his admirers to look on him as a natural leader of men and as a safe controlling spirit whether in hours of calm or passion. Says a writer, "In the position of Speaker of the House, his quickness of perception, decision of manner, thorough knowledge of parliamentary law and usages, and impartial and judicial

mind, added to his clear voice and impressive presence, made him a truly great presiding officer."

When the honors of the Speakership fell to him he was perhaps the youngest man who had ever borne them, being but thirty-nine years old.

On taking the chair Mr. Blaine addressed the House as follows:-

"I thank you profoundly for the great honor which you have just conferred upon me. The gratification which this signal mark of your confidence brings to me finds its only drawback in the diffidence with which I assume the weighty duties devolved upon me. Succeeding to a chair made illustrious by the services of such eminent statesmen and skilled parliamentarians as Clay, and Stevenson, and Polk, and Winthrop, and Banks, and Grow, and Colfax, I may well distrust my ability to meet the just expectations of those who have shown me such marked partiality. But relying, gentlemen, on my honest purpose to perform all my duties faithfully and fearlessly, and trusting in a large measure to the indulgence which I am sure you will always extend to me, I shall hope to retain, as I have secured your confidence, your kindly regard and your generous support.

"The Forty first Congress assembles at an auspicious period in the history of our government. The splendid and impressive ceremonial which we have just witnessed in another part of the Capitol appropriately symbolizes the triumphs of the past and the hopes of the future. A great chieftain, whose sword, at the head of gallant and victorious armies, saved the Republic from dismemberment and ruin, has been fitly called to the highest civic honor which a grateful people can bestow. Sustained by a Congress that so ably represents the loyalty, the patriotism, and the personal worth of the nation, the President

this day inaugurated will assure to the country an administration of purity, fidelity and prosperity; an era of liberty regulated by law, and of law thoroughly inspired with liberty.

"Congratulating you, gentlemen, upon the happy auguries of the day, and invoking the gracious blessing of Almighty God on the arduous and responsible labors before you, I am now ready to take the oath of office and enter upon the discharge of the duties to which you have called me."

So satisfactory did his ministration prove to friend and foe that at the expiration of the Forty-first Congress, March 3, 1871, Mr. S. S. Cox, then of New York, one of his bitterest political opponents and a recognized Democratic leader, offered the following resolution, which was passed:—

"In view of the difficulties involved in the performance of the duties of the presiding officer of this House, and of the able, courteous, dignified and impartial discharge of those duties by Hon. James G. Blaine, during the present Congress, it is eminently becoming that our thanks be and they are hereby tendered to the Speaker thereof."

To this resolution and as part of the adjournment proceedings Mr. Blaine made the following appropriate reply:—

"Our labors are at an end; but I delay the final adjournment long enough to return my most profound and respectful thanks for the commendation which you have been pleased to bestow upon my official course and conduct. In a deliberate body of this character a presiding officer is fortunate if he retains the confidence and steady support of his political associates. Beyond that you give me the assurance that I have earned the good will of those from whom I am separated by party lines. Your expressions

are most grateful to me, and are most gratefully acknowledged.

"The Congress whose existence closes with this hourenjoys a memorable distinction. It is the first in which
all the States have been represented on this floor since
the baleful winter that preceded our late bloody war.
Ten years have passed since then—years of trial and
triumph; years of wild destruction and years of careful
rebuilding; and after all, and as the result of all, the
National government is here to day, united, strong, proud,
defiant and just, with a territorial area vastly expanded
and with three additional States represented on the folds
of the flag. For these prosperous fruits of our great
struggle let us humbly give thanks to the God of battles
and to the Prince of Peace.

"And now, gentlemen, with one more expression of the obligations I feel for the considerable kindness with which you have always sustained me, I perform the only remaining duty of my office in declaring, as I now do, that the House of Representatives of the Forty-first Congress is adjourned without day." The object of calling the extra session of the Forty-first Congress was achieved, by the passage of a bill requiring the recalcitrant Southern States to submit their constitutions as they stood to a vote of their people, and to procure of their State Legislatures a ratification of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Federal constitution, as a condition precedent to their admission. On the passage of this act the Congress adjourned April 10, 1869.

The Forty-first Congress met in regular session Dec. 6, 1869. It proved to be a most interesting and important session, one particularly trying to the new Speaker of the House. The new party in the Southern States, called the "Unreconstructed," the "Irreconcilable," the "Ku-

Klux-Klan," or by whatever name known, had determined to eliminate "Carpet-Baggers," and all loyal state governments, from the South, and to oppose every policy of reconstruction which the administration and the government could devise. In this, they found a ready ally in the Democratic party, and the consequence was a flood of measures, hostile to the government, and a cloud of intensely partisan debates, rendering the Speaker's position delicate in the extreme. But perhaps no session during the entire reconstruction period accomplished so much work and attained results so far reaching, and satisfactory. It witnessed the decision of the Supreme Court to the effect that "Congress had the power to reestablish the relations of any rebellious State to the Union," a doctrine which sustained the Republican position, and destroyed Anti-Reconstruction as a cardinal Democratic doctrine. This decision paved the way for the Enforcement Act, passed May 31, 1870, which practically changed the "Klan" into the "White League," another form of intimidation less liable to the ordinary processes of the law. Acts were also passed to enforce the Fifteenth amendment, to provide for more careful naturalization, and to amend the Tariff. In March, the constitutionality of the Legal Tender Act of 1862, was affirmed by the Supreme Court. This had been a partisan issue from beginning to end, and now that it was happily out of the way, American credit took a rebound, and the popularized "Greenbacks," took such deep hold on the affections of its enemies as to become their banking capital in the formation of a new party.

During 1870, Mr. Blaine was honored by a fifth nomination for Congress in his District. He was elected to the Forty-second Congress by a majority of 2,820 votes,

after a vigorous contest and one involving considerable bitterness of feeling.

The Second Session of the Forty-first Congress opened Dec. 5, 1870, and ended by limitation on March 3, 1871. Reconstruction was now complete, and the session was comparatively uneventful, though the duties of speakership were not less delicate, owing to the increased membership from the lately admitted Southern States.

CHAPTER X.

IN THE FORTY-SECOND CONGRESS; AS SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE.

WE have already seen how the House, by its resolution of thanks, saw fit to regard Mr. Blaine's conduct while in the chair during the Forty-First Congress. Nothing can add to the strength and impartiality of a verdict in one's favor when voluntarily rendered by one's foes. President Grant called the Forty-second Congress in extra session March 4, 1871, the object being to amend the enforcement acts so as to more effectually reach the outrages perpetrated in the southern states. The Republican majority was by no means so large as formerly, there being 138 Republicans to 103 Democrats. The House organized by re-electing James G. Blaine as speaker, by a vote of 126, to one of 92 for his competitior Geo. W. Morgan. On being conducted to the chair he addressed the House as follows:—

"The speakership of the American House of Representives has always been esteemed as an enviable honor. A re-election to the position carries with it peculiar gratification, in that it implies an approval of past official bearing. For this great mark of your confidence, I can but return to you my sincerest thanks, with the assurance of my utmost devotion to the duties which you call upon me to discharge.

"Chosen by the party representing the political majority in the House, the Speaker owes a faithful allegiance to the principles and policy of that party. But he will fall far below the honorable requirements of his station if he fails to give to the minority their full rights under the rules which he is called upon to administer. The successful working of our grand system of government depends largely upon the vigilance of party organizations, and the most wholesome legislation which this House produces and perfects is that which results from opposing forces mutually eager and watchful and well nigh balanced in numbers.

"The Forty-Second Congress assembles at a period of general content, happiness and prosperity throughout the land. Under the wise administration of the national government peace reigns in all our borders, and the only serious misunderstanding with any foreign power is, we may hope, at this moment in process of honorable, cordial and lasting adjustment. We are fortunate in meeting at such a time, in representing such constituencies, in legislating for such a country.

"Trusting gentlemen, that our official intercourse may be free from all personal asperity, believing that all our labors will eventuate for the public good, and craving the blessing of Him without whose aid we labor in vain, I am now ready to proceed with the further organization of the House; and as the first step thereto, I will myself take the oath prescribed by the Constitution and laws."

It was during this extra session that Mr. Blaine took occasion to show that his occupancy of the Speaker's chair did not necessarily constrain him to silence under the many attacks made upon him by envious or maliciously inclined members. General Butler had indiscreetly charged him with the authorship of a resolution providing, for an investigation into alleged outrages perpetrated upon loyal citizens of the South, and for being responses

sible for its adoption in a Republican caucus, Mr. Blaine, March 16, 1871, at once left the chair and took the floor in his defence, when the following sharp colloquy ensued, —interesting as showing Mr. Blaine's courage, tact and persistency:—

Mr. Blaine, the Speaker. [Mr. Wheeler, of New York, in the chair.] I desire to ask the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Butler) whether he denies to me the right to have down that resolution?

Mr. Butler. I have made no assertion on that subject one way or the other.

Mr. Blaine. Did not the gentleman distinctly know that I drew it?

Mr. Butler. No, sir.

Mr. Blaine. Did I not take it to the gentleman and read it to him?

Mr. Butler. Yes, sir.

Mr. Blaine. Did I not show him the manuscript?

Mr. Butler. Yes, sir.

Mr. Blaine. In my own handwriting?

Mr. Butler. No, sir.

Mr. Blaine. And at his suggestion I added these words:
"And the expenses of said committee shall be paid from
the contingent fund of the House of Representatives"
[applause], and the fact that ways and means were
wanted to pay the expenses was the only objection he
made to it.

Mr. Butler. What was the answer the gentleman made? I suppose I may ask that, now that the Speaker has come upon the floor.

Mr. Blaine. The answer was that I immediately wrote the amendment providing for the payment of the expenses of the committee. Mr. Butler. What was my answer? Was it not that under no circumstances would I have anything to do with it, being bound by the action of the caucus?

Mr. Blaine. No, sir; the answer was that under no circumstances would you serve as chairman.

Mr. Butler. Or have anything to do with the resolution.

Mr. Blaine. There are two hundred and twenty-four members of the House of Representatives. A committee of thirteen can be found without the gentleman from Massachusetts being on it. His service is not essential to the constitution of the committee.

Mr. Butler. Why did you not find such a committee, then?

Mr. Blaine. Because I knew very well that if I omitted the appointment of the gentleman it would be heralded throughout the length and breadth of the country, by the claquers who have so industriously distributed this letter this morning, that the Speaker had packed the committee, as the gentleman said he would, with "weak-kneed Republicans," who would not go into an investigation vigorously, as he would. That was the reason. [Applause.] So that the Chair laid the responsibility upon the gentleman of declining the appointment.

Mr. Butler. I knew that was the trick of the Chair.

Mr. Blaine. Ah, the "trick!" We now know what the gentleman meant by the word "trick." I am very glad to know that the "trick" was successful.

Mr. Butler. No doubt.

Mr. Blaine. It is this "trick" which pleases the gentleman from Massachusetts on his responsibility before the country.

Mr. Butler. Exactly. Mr. Blaine. Wholly. Mr. Butler. Wholly.

Mr. Blaine. Now, sir, the gentleman from Massachusetts talks about the coercion by which fifty-eight Republicans were made to vote for the resolution. I do not know what any one of them may have to say; but if there be here to-day a single gentleman who has given to the gentleman of Massachusetts the intimation that he felt coerced—that he was in any way restrained from free action, let him get up now and speak, or forever after hold his peace.

Mr. Butler. Oh, yes.

Mr. Blaine. The gentleman from Massachusetts says: "Having been appointed against my wishes, expressed both publicly and privately, by the Speaker, as chairman of a committee to investigate the state of affairs in the South, ordered to-day by Democratic votes, against the most earnest protest of more than a two-thirds majority of the Republicans of the House."

Mr. Butler. Yes, sir.

Mr. Blaine. This statement is so bold and groundless that I do not know what reply to make to it. It is made in the face of the fact that on the roll-call fifty-eight Republicans voted for the resolution, and forty-nine, besides the gentleman from Massachusetts, against it. I deny that the gentleman has the right to speak for any member who voted for it, unless it may be the member from Tennessee (Mr. Maynard), who voted for it, for the purpose, probably, of moving a reconsideration—a very common, a very justifiable and proper course whenever any gentleman chooses to adopt it. I am not criticising it at all. But if there be any one of the fifty-eight gentlemen who voted for the resolution under coercion I would like the gentleman from Massachusetts to designate him.

Mr. Butler. I am not here to retail private conversa-

Mr. Blaine. Oh, no; but you will distribute throughout the entire country unfounded calumnies purporting to rest upon assertions made in private conversations, which, when called for, cannot be verified.

Mr. Butler. Pardon me, sir. I said there was a caucus

Mr. Blaine. I hope God will pardon you; but you ought not to ask me to do it! [Laughter.]

Mr. Butler. I will ask God, and not you.

Mr. Blaine. I am glad the gentleman will.

Mr. Butler. I have no favors to ask of the devil. And let me say that the caucus agreed upon a definite mode of action.

Mr. Blaine. The caucus! Now, let me say here and now, that the Chairman of that caucus, sitting on my right, "a chevalier," in legislation, "sans peur et sans reproche," the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. Austin Blair) stated, as a man of honor, as he is, that he was bound to say officially from the Chair that it was not considered, and could not be considered binding upon gentlemen. And more than that. Talk about tricks! Why, the very infamy of political trickery never compassed a design so foolish and so wicked as to bring together a caucus, and attempt to pledge them to the support of measures which might violate not only the political principles, but the religious faith of men-to the support of the bill drawn by the gentlemen from Massachusetts, which might violate the conscientious scruples of men. And yet, for sooth, he comes in here and declares that whatever a caucus may determine upon, however hastily, however crudely, however wrongfully, you must support it! Why, even in the worst days of the Democracy,

when the gentleman himself was in the front rank of the worst wing of it, when was it ever attempted to say that a majority of a party caucus could bind men upon measures that involved questions of constitutional law, of personal honor, of religious scruple? The gentleman asked what would have been done-he asked my colleague (Mr. Peters) what would have been done in case of members of a party voting against the caucus nominee for Speaker. I understand that was intended as a thrust at myself. Caucus nominations of officers have always been held as binding. But, just here, let me say, that if a minority did not vote against the decision of the caucus that nominated me for Speaker, in my judgment, it was not the fault of the gentleman from Massachusetts. [Applause.] If the requisite number could have been found to have gone over to the despised Nazarenes on the opposite side, that gentleman would have led them as gallantly as he did the forces in the Charleston Convention. [Renewed applause and laughter.]

Mr. Speaker, in old times it was the ordinary habit of the Speaker of the House of Representatives to take part in debate. The custom has fallen into disuse. For one, I am very glad that it has. For one, I approve of the conclusion that forbids it. The Speaker should, with consistent fidelity to his own party, be the impartial administrator of the rules of the House, and a constant participation in the discussions of members would take from him that appearance of impartiality which it is so important to maintain in the rulings of the Chair. But at the same time I despise and denounce the insolence of the gentleman from Massachusetts when he attempts to say that the Representative from the Third District of the State of Maine has no right to frame a resolution; has no right to seek that under the rules resolutions shall be

adopted; has no right to ask the judgment of the House upon that resolution. Why, even the insolence of the gentleman himself never reached that sublime height before.

Tanganata and before a men are a real times.

Now, Mr. Speaker, nobody regrets more sincerely than I do any occurrence which calls me to take the floor. On questions of propriety, I appeal to members on both sides of the House, and they will bear me witness, that the circulation of this letter in the morning prints; its distribution throughout the land by telegraph; the laying it upon the desks of members, was intended to be by the gentleman from Massachusetts, not openly and boldly, but covertly-I will not use a stronger phrase-an insult to the Speaker of this House. As such I resent it. I denounce it in all its essential statements, and in all its misstatements, and in all its mean inferences and meaner inuendoes. I denounce the letter as groundless without justification; and the gentleman himself, I trust, will live to see the day when he will be ashamed of having written it.

The object of the extra session having been effected by the passage of what became known as the "Ku-Klux Act," an adjournment took place, on April 20, to the Regular session in December.

By the time the Forty-second Congress assembled in first regular session, Dec. 3, 1871, a considerable change had come over political sentiment in the country. The ineffectual working of the Acts aimed at the "Ku-Klux" and "White Leagues," owing to their inherent weakness, had led many Republicans to doubt their expediency. Yet a majority was obtained at this session for an Act, in the nature of another and final trial, which opened the United

States courts to citizens deprived of their rights in a State, classified conspiracies against citizens as rebellious, and authorized the use of U. S. troops for their suppression. The debates on this measure were highly partisan and acrimonious. It was the same with those on the Amnesty Bill, which bill could not be called a Republican measure, so much as an evidence of how far the doctrine of general amnesty as advocated by Mr. Greeley, Mr. Brown and Mr. Schurz had advanced. This was the doctrine which went under the false name of "Liberal Republicanism" in 1872, and which the Democratic party so gladly embraced under Mr. Greeley's lead.

Under these auspices legislation was difficult. Debates often ran into scenes. Amendments complicated propositions till few could tell what the leading thought was. It required dexterous steering on the part of a Speaker to preserve decorum and keep business in motion. Mr. Blaine was always equal to the delicate task, and but for his firm hand on the helm, the measures of the session, opposed as they were by so many half-hearted Republicans, might not have borne even the ear-marks of the party. The session adjourned, June 10, 1872.

The politics of 1872 were the most unique in our history. The Republicans stood squarely to their principles and the candidacy of General Grant for a second term. The disaffected Republicans and the Democrats united under the banner of Mr. Greeley, whose defeat was so overwhelming as to contribute to, if it did not actually cause, his death.

Mr. Blaine was this year favored with his sixth nomination for Congress, and he carried his district by a majority of 3,568, which was very pronounced, considering the confused state of political sentiment. In his speech before the Lincoln county (Me.) Republican convention,

delivered July 27, 1872, he set the current of thought for the National campaign, and at the same time so ably outlined the novel situation as to make one of the most valuable contributions to the political history of the day. His speech ran:—

"FELLOW-CITIZENS,-In discussing the pending contest for the Presidency, I think it is becoming, at the outset, to tender our condolence to those disappointed and dissatisfied politicians who called the Liberal Republican Convention at Cincinnati for the express purpose of nominating Charles Francis Adams. In some way, not foreseen by the callers, delegates flocked to the Convention in numbers too large to be disciplined and led by Mr. Carl Schurz and his small band of political recusants and self-seekers; and the Adams programme, though carefully planned, utterly miscarried in the end. Gentlemen of independent views, of personal character, with homes in which they live, and with neighbors who respect them, took control of the Convention; and instead of nominating Mr. Adams, they chose a man who in almost every respect radically differs from him. I think, indeed, it would be difficult to find two men of New England birth who in temper and temperament, in mental quality, and in every characteristic that makes the difference between individuals, are so radically unlike as Horace Greeley and Charles Francis Adams. Perhaps I could not define the points of difference without falling into a line of criticism and analysis that would prove too personal for the amenities of public speech. Nor would it be to my purpose. I have dwelt on this phase of Mr. Greelev's nomination only to express my gratification with the fact that the original bolters from the Republican party, who called the Cincinnati Convention, feel far worse over the result of its deliberations than do the Republicans who remain true to their party faith and allegiance. The Republican bolters who supported Mr. Adams met their discomfiture in May, and I feel quite sure that the friends of Mr. Greeley will meet theirs in November.

"Far more important than the action of the Republican deserters at the May Convention is that of the National Democracy in this month of July. In fact, Mr. Greeley's nomination by the deserters sinks to insignificance, in view of the fact that against every sense of consistency and every suggestion of propriety, with the sacrifice of almost every principle the party ever professed, the Democracy of the Nation, with the South in the lead, have selected Horace Greeley as their candidate for the Presidency. The loyal man has been endorsed by the rebel, the patriot is embraced by the traitor, the Prohibitionist is approved by the party of lager beer and free rum, the Protectionist is accepted by the Free-Trader, the Abolitionist is welcomed by the whole body of ancient slaveholders. Whatever Horace Greeley has been for the past thirty years is precisely what the Democracy have not been: whatever he has professed is precisely what the Democracy have derided and denounced.

"Since the action of the Democratic Convention, we can plainly see what before was matter of inference and conjecture; viz., that the so-called Liberal Republican Convention was summoned in pursuance of an agreement previously made with Democratic leaders, and with the distinct understanding that the candidate of the Republican deserters should also become the candidate of the Democracy; that party fealty, political principle, personal pledges, ancient prejudice, hoary tradition, boasted record, should all be subordinated by the Democracy, and a coal-

ition should be formed simply on the basis of defeating General Grant, and taking charge of the Government with its power and its patronage.

"It must not be forgotten, however, that the agreement thus secretly made between assumed leaders never contemplated that the Democracy should be subjected to such a test and such a strain as is applied to them by the nomination of Mr. Greeley. The Democratic leaders had made up their minds to support Mr. Charles Francis Adams, and never for a moment doubted his readiness to respond to all Democratic demands. They knew that since the death of old John Adams, no member of his family had ever been steadfastly true to the organization or the principles of any political party; and they believed, therefore, with all sincerity, that the late Minister to England, who saw no opportunity for further promotion in the Republican party, would, according to the tradition of his blood and the example of his father, not hesitate to unite with the Democracy upon the distinct understanding that the Democracy should first unite on him.

"Unwelcome as it was to the Democracy to substitute Mr. Greeley for Mr. Adams, difficult as it seemed for a time to complete the coalition on the basis of the former's candidacy, the old party, like many individuals engaged in a questionable transaction and somewhat startled by unexpected developments, found it, nevertheless, easier to go forward than to retreat, easier to put on a brazen face and a bold front than to acknowledge their inconsistency, their disingenuousness, their readiness to sacrifice lifelong principle for even a remote chance of the prestige of victory and the spoils of office.

"To cement the coalition, to add the last drop of humiliation to the cup which is put to the lips of the Democracy, it was agreed by the National Convention of that

party that the platform adopted by the Liberal Republican Convention at Cincinnati should be taken without dotting an *i* or crossing a *t*—with wry faces I doubt not, but with a loud-sounding declaration that they believed the principles announced by them to be 'essential to just

government.'

"Gentlemen, this political combination is as bad as that described by John Randolph, when, with his vindictive bitterness, he denounced the union of the Puritan and the blackleg, and described it as equal in shame to the association of Blifil and Black George. It cannot succeed. It is a failure from the beginning. It is doomed to destruction from its birth. It is an unnatural alliance, which avenging fate will put asunder. You cannot unite Horace Greeley in sympathy with Jefferson Davis and Robert Toombs: you cannot bring him into political fellowship with the pirates who manned the Confederate cruisers, with the fiends in human shape who tortured Union soldiers at Andersonville, with the inhuman wretches who refused quarter to negro soldiers taken prisoners in honorable warfare with arms in their hands.

"Coalitions, gentlemen, are proverbially weak. They are weak precisely in proportion to the degree of antagonism which is to be allayed, precisely in proportion to the disagreements which are to be reconciled. As a political device coalitions are not new. They have been tried of old in England, and have ended always with defeat and sometimes with disgrace. In our Republican system of government, successful coalition is even more difficult than where aristocratic institutions restrain freedom of discussion and limit the sphere of independent action. But in the whole history of coalitions, successful or unsuccessful, abroad or at home, that which is now attempted is at once the most difficult and the—what

shall I say? the most discreditable? I should think Mr. Greeley would every morning awake from sleep disturbed by unpleasant visions, and sigh heavily for the old patriotic associates among whom his life and his labor have been honored, and to whom, for all these years, he has been guide, philosopher and friend, fireside companion and trusted counselor!

"An analysis of the Liberal Republican platform to which the Democratic National Convention pledged faith and fealty, will show how a great body of men who are ready to fight if their honor be challenged, will yet give pledge to uphold certain political principles, when in their hearts they mean no such thing, and when in fact their partisan word is to be taken as lightly and held to be as meaningless as the oath of an Alsatian dicer. In the Democratic National Convention there were many delegates who either actively or by instigation and approval have been depriving colored voters in the South of all their civil rights for the past four years, and who now glibly vote for a resolution declaring their determination to mete out equal and exact justice to all, of whatever nativity, race, color or persuasion, religious and political.' When they were declaring this monstrous falsehood they had to seal their ears against the cries of their victims, and might, if they had a shadow of conscience left, fear that the fate of their Scriptural prototypes would instantly be theirs.

"To maintain and even exaggerate this ghastly farce, all the old Confederate soldiers who figured so largely in the Southern delegations to the Convention, joined heartily in the Liberal Republican declaration of gratitude to 'the heroism and sacrifices of the soldiers and sailors of the Republic.' If the unities of time and place had been observed, it would have been more frank and more striking for the Confederate soldiers to render thanks to God for their defeat in the civil war.' If they did not feel like doing that, how could they express their gratitude to their victors, and further declare that no act of theirs shall ever detract from the justly earned fame of those victors or the full rewards of their patriotism'? This is all so absurd as to be amusing. No man has ever denied or questioned the bravery of the Confederate soldiery, but we never heard a degree of humility and resignation imputed to them that would entitle them to be considered kinsmen of Uriah Heep. Yet the Democratic platform so far overdoes the necessities of the situation as to degrade the proud spirit of the South, and to degrade it needlessly and untruthfully.

"Then again, the repudiating element that was really represented to a large extent in the Convention, was made to declare that 'the public debt must be sacredly maintained, and we denounce repudiation in every form and guise.' Not content with this wholesale affirmation of a faith that was not in them, the Convention, including the delegates who had been for years demanding that the public debt should be paid in irredeemable greenbacks. now declared that 'a speedy return to specie is demanded alike by the highest considerations of commercial morality and honest government.' The presumption is that in the Convention which made this affirmation with approximate unanimity, there was not, outside of New England and New York, a baker's dozen of delegates who believed it or who intended to support it in the forthcoming canvass throughout the country. The declaration was for the political market of the North-East, and was silently ignored or savagely repudiated by the Democracy of the South-West.

"But while the Democracy seemed willing to make in

their Convention any affirmation that was demanded of them, they finally struck a question on which the Liberal Republicans had been unable to agree. The supporters of Charles Francis Adams were almost wholly Free-Traders, and if their plans had been successful, a Freetrade platform would have been sent to the Democratic Convention as the common ground of political faith and common basis of action. But the nomination of Mr. Greeley broke this plan. From his earliest participation in political affairs, even from his boyhood, when he warmly espoused the cause of Mr. Clay, it was known that Mr. Greeley was not only a Protectionist, but what the Free-Traders term a 'crazy Protectionist.' He could not, therefore, stand on the platform first designed for the Convention; and per contra the Free-Traders who designed that platform were, of course, unwilling to stand on a Protection platform. There was, in fact, a broad and radical difference between the men who had worked for Adams and the men who had succeeded in nominating Greeley. One represented the immovable body, the other the irresistible force, and it was idle therefore to impel the one against the other. Hence a compromise was agreed upon, and certainly a man must be blinded by charity or by lack of knowledge who is willing to call it an honest compromise. Here it is. Please weigh its words as I read it: 'Recognizing that there are in our midst honest but irreconcilable differences of opinion with regard to the respective systems of Protection and Free Trade, we remit the discussion of the subject to the people in their Congressional districts, and the decision of Congress thereon, wholly free from Executive interference or dictation.'

"I have always noticed that the men who profess a standard of political faith very much higher than that of their neighbors, and assume the true and lofty air of the Pharisee, can always be expected to resort to some exceedingly dishonest practice or perform some very objectionable trick when temptation or assumed necessity demands it. When this particular trick is analyzed, we find this to be the resultant :- unable to agree on one of the leading issues before the people (I might say the leading issue, if its rank be determined by the number of voters personally interested in its settlement), the coalition agree that they will have no views whatever on the question! Engaged in a national campaign, asking that the supreme power of the nation be entrusted to their hands, they yet confess that on a question in which millions of people are interested they have no views and refuse to take any position. Do they intend, by this course, to cheat somebody? If so, who is to be cheated? Is Mr. Greeley, if made President, to cheat the Protectionists? or are the members of the coalition to watch each other. and see that neither shall cheat the other?-thus beginning their administration of the Government, if so grave a responsibility should be imposed upon them, with a greater degree of mutual distrust than either faction would feel toward their common political foe.

"Fellow-citizens, it never was intended that the Government of the United States, or any other honorable Government on the face of the earth, should be administered in that insincere, ill-adjusted, self-contradictory mode! The precedents of our administration of the Government are all against it. Common sense is against it, and common honesty is against it. It is not direct, straightforward, and candid. It has trickery for its basis, and knavery for its spirit, and is only invented to permit Free-Traders, like Mr. Schurz, and Protectionists, like Mr. Greeley, to neglect the ponderous issues of the hour,

and unite upon the common ground of mere personal hostility and petty spleen against General Grant.

"The opponents of President Grant adopt the most unwise of policies when they seek to make personal warfare upon him, to cast opprobrium upon him, and to throw calumny and suspicion upon his good name. The strength of the President before the people is due, not alone to his brilliant military achievements, but to that vigor and directness of character, that rugged personal integrity, which in every relation of life have distinguished him. His opponents are especially unwise to challenge him on his strong side.

"The result of the election will show that thousands of people in every loyal State, who perhaps differ from General Grant in certain views of public questions, will resent the imputations upon his character as a personal affront to themselves. The people of the United States feel profound gratitude to the President for his illustrious services to the Union during the war, and they will not hear him maligned and insulted by a soi-disant general like Carl Schurz, without hot resentment of the wrong, and without contempt for the man who failed with the sword and tries to slander the great soldiers whom he could only envy, and not rival, during the war.

"In thus sketching the origin and character of what is now popularly known as the "Greeley movement," I have dwelt somewhat on its personal aspects. In the wider and more important field of principles which are at stake, and measures which are in issue, the argument is even stronger in support of the Republican party. In fact, the Greeley party, in its composite character, presents no measure, except slander of the Grant Administration. The two Conventions that nominated Mr. Greeley have practically copied the Republican platform,

except on the one important question of the tariff, where, as I have shown, they utterly declined to express an opinion either way. In truth, the Democratic party has been so thoroughly defeated on every point it has raised during the last ten years, or since the beginning of the war, that its leaders are unable to present a single question on which they can rally and unite their party.

"It is really instructive as a matter of political history, aside from its pertinency as an argument in this campaign, to recall the disastrous defeats which the Democracy have met, as time after time they have assumed what they considered impregnable positions. After the election of Mr. Lincoln, and before his inauguration, the Democracy, North and South alike, declared the States to be sovereign, denied that they constituted a Nation, maintained that each State is a law unto itself and could not be coerced to remain in a Union from which it should choose to secede. That Democratic doctrine was trampled under foot on a hundred battle-fields, and died the death of the treason which it was well designed to protect.

"The next issue on which the Northern Democracy were consolidated was that the war was a failure, and that the enemies of the Union could not be conquered by arms. They therefore demanded an armistice and a negotiation with rebels. This was the avowed position of the Democratic National Convention of 1864; and the echoes of the treasonous declaration had scarcely died away before the thunder of Sheridan's guns in the valley of Virginia pronounced it false. In a half-year only from the time the Democracy of the North had proclaimed the impossibility of conquering the rebellion, the armies of the Confederacy were destroyed, and General Grant, whom the same Democrats are now loading with bitterest vituperation, was in possession of the parole of the last

soldier that formed the army of Robert E. Lee. Thus again the Democratic party was put to open shame.

"But I need not pursue these abortive efforts of the Democracy in detail. The mere recital of them will show how often and how humiliatingly they have been beaten on their selected ground. You know how ingloriously they failed in their opposition to the "Draft," and in their repeated declaration that a Conscription Law was unconstitutional—a position upheld for them by Judge Woodward, a Democratic judge of the Supreme Court in Pennsylvania; how glaringly unsuccessful was their hostility to the abolition of slavery! Still greater, if possible, was their folly in rejecting the military aid which colored men could bring to the Union army! You remember how they struggled against the concession of the right of suffrage to the colored man; how they fought the Constitutional Amendments-Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth successively-fought them in Congress, in State Legislatures, and before popular assemblies; how they resisted the issuing of legal-tender money, even when the Government needed it as a means of supporting the army and carrying on the war; how, three years after the war had closed, they strove to injure our credit and blot the fair name of the Nation by paying off the public debt in depreciated paper money!

"On all these issues the Democracy have been beaten; not in the ordinary sense of defeat, but in a way that left a stain of dishonor on the party for having attempted each time to do something which if successful would have left a stain of dishonor on the country. On every question they have raised, the Republican party, by a patriotic instinct based on principle and guided by an enlightened public conscience, have been right, and being right have been triumphant.

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"The Republicans will make no attack on the personal character of Mr. Greeley, for they know nothing against him. He enjoyed Republican confidence and admiration in an extraordinary degree until he showed a willingness to become identified with a party which, according to his own repeated declarations, has made an unpatriotic and mischievous record since 1860, and is unworthy to be trusted on a single question of interest and importance to the people of the United States. Let it be the only indictment against Mr. Greeley that he has consented to stand as the candidate and representative of that party!

"The Republican party will assuredly triumph in this campaign-triumph first by virtue of their own merit and their own strength, and in part by virtue of the unwise folly of President Grant's personal enemies. The people will not stop to scan closely whether in the proposed annexation of San Domingo, or on some other measure, the President has been always and exactly right. The campaign has been carried by the opponents of the Republican party beyond the discussion of particular measures, and has become one in which the honor of private and public character is to be defended, in which the fame of the chief hero of our great civil war is to be vindicated against the secret designs of personal malice and the coarser blows of political rancor. The fame of a great man is part of the Nation's imperishable treasure, and the Nation will rebuke those who would attempt to sully it or to destroy it!"

The second session of the Forty-second Congress opened Dec. 2, 1872. It was a remarkable session in its bearings on Mr. Blaine as a member and as Speaker. The Bill which afterwards became infamous as the "Salary Grab Bill," was introduced. It raised the Speaker's salary to \$10,000. On the principle that official salaries ought not

to be increased while an incumbent held office, and while the Bill was under discussion, Jan. 31, 1873, Mr. Blaine asked permission to make a personal statement, and said.

"The Chair now desires to make a statement personal to himself. In reading the bill the Chair presumes the language of this amendment would make the Speaker's salary \$10,000 for this Congress. The salary of the Speaker, the last time the question of pay was under consideration, was adjusted to that of the Vice-President and members of the Cabinet. The Chair thinks that adjustment should not be disturbed, and the question which he new raises does not effect the pay of other members of the House. He asks unanimous consent to put in the word 'hereafter,' to follow the words 'shall receive.' This will affect whoever shall be speaker of the House of Representatives hereafter, and does not effect the speaker of this House, but leaves him upon the same plane with the Vice-President and Cabinet officers, upon the salary as before adjusted."

To the Speaker's proposition considerable opposition was manifested, but by his rulings Mr. Blaine sustained his intention. At the next session the bill was repealed in spite of the forces arrayed against it. The two sides were so evenly matched that when a question of adjournment arose, proposed in order to defeat the repeal, it was negatived by the deciding vote of the Speaker.

The second matter which bore directly on the Speaker was that which became known as the "Credit Mobilier" affair. We do not allude to this through any sense of political necessity, nor with a view to vindication, for that is not only out of our line, but of no use at all in view of the wholesale and manifestly malicious misrepresentations of the entire affair. But we have to preserve what are called the "historic verities," and as Mr. Blaine was

a part of the Credit Mobilier investigation, his precise position in it should be known.

We have taken great pains to verify what is here written by the official records, and to "nothing extenuate nor aught set down in malice."

During the Presidential campagin of 1872 charges were made by Democratic orators and newspapers, to the effect that several public men had accepted Credit Mobilier stock from Oakes Ames as a present, and in order to influence legislation in favor of the Union Pacific Railroad Company. The charges were very vague, as such charges always are. Among the officials they reached was the Speaker of the House, Mr. Blaine. On the day the Second Session of the Forty-second Congress opened. Mr. Blaine asked Mr. Cox (Democrat) to take the chair. Remember the House was Republican by 138 Republicans to 103 Democrats, and the Senate by 57 Republicans to 17 Democrats. Mr. Blaine took the floor, alluded to the charges, and asked that an investigating committee be appointed, to inquire into their truthfulness and report to the House. He thus not only moved for his own inculpation if he were guilty, but he had purposely placed a Democrat in the chair to appoint the investigating committee, a thing entirely unusual. The committee appointed consisted of Poland, of Vermont, and McCreary, of Iowa, both Republicans; Banks, of Massachusetts, a Greeley Democrat; and Niblack, of Indiana, and Merrick, of Maryland, both straight-out Democrats.

All in all, this was a wholly exceptional situation. To all campaign stories, with whatever motive concocted or for whatever purpose circulated, the majority in Congress might have rested on the vindication they had received at the polls, and would have done so if they had been opposed to a thorough investigation and a full exposure of

corrupt practices. The movement for investigation came from themselves. Again, they might of right, and in accordance with the practice of the government from the beginning, have appointed a committee which represented the majority of the Congress, and the administration as well. This right, or custom, was waived, and all-important and far-reaching investigation was, for the first time in legislative history, entrusted by a dominant party to its political foes.

The investigation covered nearly three months. It was patiently and carefully made, as may well be supposed under the circumstances. The whole ground was covered from the vague charges to the very bottom of the Credit Mobilier and Union Pacific Railroad transactions. The persons charged were one by one fully examined and their statements compared with each other and with outside testimony. Their report, made Feb. 18, 1873, was considered one of the most commanding and exhaustive judicial documents of the time. No State paper ever carried greater weight. It was accepted by all parties as a finality, and many who had used the charges which called it forth regretted their thoughtless action after they were made acquainted with the facts.

The committee found that the Credit Mobilier of America was incorporated by the Legislature of Pennsylvania. That it became the construction agent for the Union Pacific Railroad. That in 1867 it engaged to build for the Union Pacific 667 miles of road at prices ranging from \$42,000 to \$96,000 per mile, which contract was ratified by the Union Pacific. That in 1868 the stock of the Credit Mobilier was considered as worth two to three times its par value, but that the fact was not generally known, because there was none on the market. That in December, 1867, Oakes Ames, then a member of the House,

and a stockholder in both the Union Pacific and Credit Mobilier, offered to members of Congress shares of Credit Mobilier stock at par.

"It does not appear," we use here the exact language of the committee, "that in any instance he asked any of these persons to pay a higher rate than par and interest, nor that he used any special effort or urgency to get these persons to take it. In all these negotiations, Mr. Ames did not enter into any details as to the value of the stock or the amount of dividend that might be expected from it, but stated generally that it was a good stock, and in several instances said he would guarantee that they should get at least ten per cent. on their money."

When some of these gentlemen raised the question that taking the stock might embarrass their legislative action, they were told by Mr. Ames that that could never be, for the Union Pacific had all the grants and legislation it wanted, and should ask for nothing more. Some persons who took stock paid for it outright. For those who wanted it, but who had not the money, Mr. Ames agreed to carry it till they could get money, or until the dividends paid for it.

The committee then made a special finding as to each member of the House whom the rumors mentioned. Again we quote in full:

"In regard to each of the members of the present House, the committee deem it their duty to state specially the facts they find proved by the evidence, which in some instances is painfully conflicting.

"MR. JAMES G. BLAINE, OF MAINE.

"Among those who have in the public press been charged with improper participation in Credit Mobilier stock is the present Speaker, Mr. Blaine, who moved the resolution for this investigation. The committee have, therefore, taken evidence in regard to him. They find from it that Mr. Ames had conversation with Mr. Blaine in regard to taking ten shares of the stock, and recommended it as a good investment. Upon consideration Mr. Blaine concluded not to take the stock, and never did take it, and never paid or received anything on account of it; and Mr. Blaine never had any interest, direct or indirect in Credit Mobilier stock or stock of the Union Pacific Railroad Company."

The Forty-second Congress adjourned March 3, 1872. Its closing hours were marked by the passage of a resolution of thanks to Speaker Blaine, introduced by Mr. Voorhees of Indiana, a political antagonist. In response, Mr. Blaine said :- " For the Forty-second time since the Federal Government was organized, its great representative body stands on the eve of dissolution. The final word which separates us is supended for a moment that I may return my sincere thanks for the kind expression respecting my official conduct which, without division of party, you have caused to be entered on your Journal. At the close of four years of service in this responsible and often trying position, it is a source of honorable pride that I have so administered my trust as to secure the confidence and approbation of both sides of the House. It would not be strange if, in the necessarily rapid discharge of the daily business, I should have erred in some of the decisions made on points, and often without precedents to

LIFE OF JAMES G. BLAINE.

It has been my good fortune, however, to be ained by the House, and in no single instance a ruling reversed. I advert to this gratifying te the language of the most eloquent of my s, 'in ro vain spirit of exaltation, but as fur-owerful motive for undissembled gratitude.'" w, gentlemen, with a hearty God bless you all, my only remaining duty in declaring that the Representatives for the Forty-second Congress I without day."

CHAPTER XI.

IN THE FORTY-THIRD CONGRESS; AS SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE,

The Forty-third Congress opened in first session, December 1, 1873. The Republican majority was still large, there being 198 Republicans to 91 Democrats. Mr. Blaine was chosen Speaker for the third time by 189 votes against 80 votes cast for all others. On opening the House he delivered the following address:—"The vote this moment announced by the Clerk is such an expression of your confidence as calls for my sincerest thanks. To be chosen Speaker of the American House of Representatives is always an honorable distinction; to be chosen a third time enhances the honor more than three-fold; to be chosen by the largest body that ever assembled in the Capitol imposes a burden of responsibility which only your indulgent kindness could embolden me to assume.

"The first occupant of this Chair presided over a House of sixty-five members, representing a population far below the present aggregate of the State of New York. At that time in the whole United States there were not fifty thousand civilized inhabitants to be found one hundred miles distant from the flow of the Atlantic tide. To-day, gentlemen, a large body of you come from beyond that limit, and represent districts then peopled only by the Indian and adventurous frontiersman. The National Government is not yet as old as many of its

citizens; but in this brief span of time, less than one lengthened life, it has, under God's providence, extended its power until a continent is the field of its empire and attests the majesty of its law.

"With the growth of new States and the resulting changes in the centres of population, new interests are developed, rival to the old, but by no means hostile, diverse but not antagonistic. Nay, rather are all these interests in harmony; and the true science of just government is to give to each its full and fair play, oppressing none by undue exaction, favoring none by undue privilege. It is this great lesson which our daily experience is teaching us, binding us together more closely, making our mutual dependence more manifest, and causing us to feel, whether we live in the North or in the South, in the East or in the West, that we have indeed but "one country, one Constitution, one destiny."

The session was remarkable for the large amount of work accomplished and the number of important bills passed. It witnessed the passage of the bill to increase the National Currency to \$400,000,000, which was vetoed; the Sumner Civil Rights bill; the bill referring all matters in dispute between England and the United States to the Geneva commission; the Poland Utah Bill; and the Tariff act of 1874, largely increasing duties. The session ended June 23, 1874.

It was in December of the previous year that the King of the Hawaiian Islands was given a reception by the United States Congress. The ceremonies were held in the House. The Senators had taken their seats and the king was escorted down the aisle toward the Speaker's chair. Mr. Blaine rose and addressed his majesty:— "Your Majesty:—On behalf of the American Congress I welcome you to these halls. The Senators from our

States and the Representatives of our people unite in cordial congratulations upon your auspicious journey, and in the expression of the gratification and pleasure afforded by your presence in the Capitol of the Nation as the Nation's guest. Your Majesty's appearance among us is the first instance in which a reigning sovereign has set foot upon the soil of the United States, and it is a significant circumstance that the visit comes to us from the West and not from the East. Probably no single event could more strikingly typify the century's progress in your Majesty's country and in our own than the scene here and now transpiring. The rapid growth of the Republic on its Western coast has greatly enlarged our intercourse with your insular kingdom, and has led us all to a knowledge of your wisdom and beneficence as a ruler, and your exalted virtues as a man. Our whole people cherish for your subjects the most friendly regard. They trust and believe that the relations of the two countries will always be as peaceful as the great sea that rolls between us-uniting and not dividing."

The Administration during 1874 was exceedingly pinched in its Southern policy, and riots which threatened to culminate in a war of races were common in the South. The exposure of the "Whiskey Ring" fell like a pall upon the country, already deeply affected by the panic of 1873 and the hard times which followed—times which had seriously affected the political situation of 1874, had given to the Democrats, under the cry of calamity, a majority in the Forty-fourth Congress, and had reduced Mr. Blaine's majority in his District to 2,830, the smallest he ever received. It stands greatly to Mr. Blaine's credit that he strove with all his energy to stem the current which was running so strongly against his party. His speeches were masterly outlines of the

situation and earnest exhortations to firmness and intelligent exercise of rights in an extraordinary hour. He had received from the Republicans of his District his seventh unanimous nomination, and on June 20th, 1874,

he thus responded to his nomination:-

"GENTLEMEN,-Permit me to tender my profound acknowledgments to the Republicans of the Kennebec district for their continued manifestation of approval and regard. I have said, very frequently in private, sometimes in public-never, I trust, in a boastful or vainglorious spirit-that I did not believe another Congressional District could be found in the United States superior to the one you empower me to represent, in all the elements of true patriotism; in public and private virtue; in general intelligence and culture, enforced through the common school, the academy and the college; in universal thrift and comfort without large individual wealth; in political conviction firm and steadfast beyond doubt or waver, and yet always tolerant toward those who think differently. Such a constituency confer honor upon any man whom they call to represent them in the National councils, and I beg to make known my grateful appreciation of the trust and confidence which they have so long and so generously reposed in me.

"The resolutions to which you invite my attention are so generally acceptable to the people of the district that no issue will be made on the matters embraced in them. The currency question at one time threatening to divide parties, and, what would be far more serious, to divide sections, is in process of a happy adjustment, partly by wise and temperate enactment passed by a large majority in both branches of Congress and approved by the President, but in a far greater degree by the operation of causes more powerful than any legislation can be. In

these remarks I am, indeed, but repeating, in substance, the resolutions of your convention, and I gladly adopt as my own the leading declaration of the series that "it is the imperative duty of the National Government to return to specie payment as soon as wise statesmanship can safely reach that result."

"But while our political opponents in Maine will not seriously contest any position taken by us, they have themselves chosen to raise another issue upon which we shall not be slow to differ from them. The Democratic State Convention, in renominating their candidate for Governor, adopted with suggestive unanimity the following resolution as the leading article in their revised political creed:—

"Resolved, That a Protective Tariff is a most unjust, unequal, oppressive and wasteful mode of raising the public revenues. It is one of the most pregnant and fruitful sources of the corruptions in administration. We therefore, the Democracy of Maine, in convention assembled, declare for Free Trade, and in favor of an unfettered and unrestricted commerce."

"This advanced position, now formally taken by the Maine Democracy in their State Convention for the first time, receives additional point and meaning from the letter of their gubernatorial candidate. Mr. Titcomb in accepting the nomination specially approves this resolution, and intimates his endurance of the lowest form of revenue tariff, only 'until we shall be educated up to the idea of equal, direct, and therefore moderate taxation for the support of the Government, and until this idea shall be brought into practical operation.' I have quoted Mr. Titcomb's own words, and it is evident that

the startling dogma to which he commits himself is in harmony with more impressive movements to be made elsewhere in the same direction. It is first thrown out in Maine as an experiment on public opinion. If there were the slightest probability that the Democratic party, with this avowed policy, would come into power, the dangers ahead would be truly appalling; but as no such calamity impends, we may examine with coolness the absurdity of the proposition.

"You will observe that the issue proposed is not the old and familiar one between those who advocate a tariff for protection and those who wish duties imposed only for revenue. That is an issue as old as the levying of imposts, and with occasional exceptions has been determined largely by latitude and longitude, or by the differing interests which change of section and varying forms of industry have developed. But the Maine Democracy assume that all tariffs are more or less protective, and hence they pronounce for 'Free Trade,' pure and simple, absolute and without qualification, or, to quote their own words, for 'an unfettered and unrestricted commerce.

"Without attempting to argue the question in its relation to the whole country, let us see how this new doctrine would affect Maine? The process would be simple, the results readily deduced, the effect blighting and disastrous to the last degree. For some years past, the Federal Government has been collecting a revenue of three hundred millions of dollars-to deal in round numbers-one-third from internal taxes, two-thirds from tariff duties. It is now proposed by the Maine Democracy to abolish all these duties, and have absolute 'Free Trade' with an 'unfettered and unrestricted commerce.' In other words, the Maine Democracy proposes to raise

the two hundred millions of dollars in gold coin now obtained from tariff duties, by 'direct taxation' or by a system of 'excises' which might prove even more oppressive than direct taxation. If the tariff be abandoned there is no other mode open under the Constitution by which the money can be raised than the two named, and Mr. Titcomb declares for "direct taxation." If the money is to be secured by direct taxation, it will be found to be Maine's great misfortune that the Constitution requires the tax to be levied in proportion to population and not according to wealth. By the ninth census, Maine has about one-sixtieth of the total population of the United States, and her share of two hundred millions of direct taxation would be something over three and a quarter millions of dollars in gold coin-the single Congressional District, whose constituents I am addressing, would be called upon for seven hundred thousand dollars. The peculiar hardship of raising taxes in this way is made manifest by the simple fact that Maine would be compelled to pay nearly one-half as much as Massachusetts, while she has but one-seventh of the property of that highly favored and prosperous Commonwealth. Properly to estimate the exhausting and oppressive nature of this enormous tax, you have but to consider that it would be three times as large as the present State tax, and would necessarily be levied in addition thereto.

"But if against Mr. Titcomb's policy the direct tax were avoided, it would be necessary to have instead of it a system of excises as onerous and as odious as human ingenuity could devise. A heavy internal tax would inevitably be levied on all manufactures, and indeed upon all the products of the field and the forest, the shipyard and the quarry; and every form of industry would be burdened and borne down by the exactions of the tax-

gatherer. These grievous hardships would be imposed on our own people, in order that foreign countries might have the benefit of our markets for their products, without duty and without tax. Our lumber interests, embarrassed and oppressed, would be compelled to compete with the untaxed products of the Canadian forest; our manufactures would pay taxes for the benefit of European fabrics: our ship-building would be destroyed by the taxation which would render it incapable of competing with Provincial bottoms, and under the magic spell of Democratic Free Trade our coasting and lake commerce, confined to our own people since the foundation of the government, would be thrown open to the whole world. Taxation in all forms is one of the burdens of civilization. and instead of ameliorating its severity and, if possible, securing from it such compensating advantages as wise legislation can provide, our Maine Democrats propose to make it to the last degree oppressive to our own people and beneficial only to the alien and the enemy.

"To the people of Maine, at this very moment, these extravagant declarations of the Democratic party have a painful significance, for it is well known that the authorities of Canada are trying to negotiate with our Government a Reciprocity treaty, which, like its predecessor, maintains the reciprocity all on one side. The treaty of that name, which was terminated in 1866, was cruelly oppressive to the people of Maine, and inflicted upon our State, during the eleven years of its existence, a loss of fifty millions of dollars. It presented the anomaly of giving to the Canadians the control in our own markets of certain leading articles, on terms far more favorable than our own people had ever enjoyed. The utmost stretch of the Divine command is to love our neighbor as ourselves, and I can certainly see nothing in personal

duty or public policy which should lead us to prefer our Canadian neighbors to our own people.

"The treaty of Reciprocity now proposed, is understood to include the admission of Canadian vessels to free American registry, and the full enjoyment of our coasting and lake trade. Thus the ship-building and commercial interests of the United States, just recovering from the terrible blows dealt by British-built cruisers during the war, are again to be struck down by giving advantages, hitherto undreamed of, to the ships of the very Power that inflicted the previous injury. The Democratic party of Maine have pledged themselves, in their State Convention, to the policy that includes this disastrous attack upon the interests of our State, and their candidate for Governor has fully committed himself to the extreme doctrine announced by the Convention.

"The form of Reciprocity proposed by the Government of the Dominion of Canada lacks every element of the seductive title by which it is sought to commend it to our people. What is it? Simply this—that if the United States will agree to admit certain Canadian products, free of duty, Canada in turn will agree to admit great American fabrics free of duty. But the class to shorter be benefited, and the class to be injured

States, are entirely distinct and separate, to the honors and in common, either in locality, industryly touched by so To compensate for the surrender of owhich I have thrice advancement of another has no more elassociates. I desire justice in it than for A to take a parem, one and all, my

because C took possession of a yoke

D. To illustrate: If the United m my party relations—admit Canadian vessels to Ameriender my acknowledgeoasting-trade, Canada will admit y with which they have and rat-traps free of duty. In adden and decisive changes

highest and best sense, than a the Legislative power of the to-day asks only to be left w Republic placed it nearly a cent "Against the whole policy of tions by the treaty-making possible behalf of my constituents and Constitution gives to the Houseleast power should be kentrolled by the direct and unbiased may well be that sundry artists should be admitted free, or with well be, also, that Canada wou pain corrections of Cartain articles from us ties of Cart

oppressive to the positive with other in State, during the endmitting the

Oshkosh, Wis., on "Municipal debt in the United States," and one at a Republican Mass meeting in Worcester, Mass., Oct. 28, 1874, on "The Democratic Party and the Constitutional Amendments." Amid this incessant activity the period arrived for the meeting of the second session of the Forty-third Congress, Dec. 7, 1874. The most important legislation was the passage of a Civil Rights bill and one looking to the resumption of specie payments.

At the expiration of the Forty-third Congress, on the 3d of March, 1875; the thanks of the House, upon motion of Mr. Potter, were again given to Mr. Blaine for his "impartiality, efficiency, and distinguished ability in the office of Speaker" On the same day, when the clock indicated that the hour of the dissolution of the Forty-third Congress had arrived, Speaker Blaine delivered the

following valedictory address:

"I close with this hour a six years' service as Speaker of the House of Representatives—a period surpassed in length by but two of my predecessors, and equaled by only two others. The rapid mutations of personal and political fortunes in this country have limited the great majority of those who have occupied this Chair to shorter terms of office.

"It would be the gravest insensibility to the honors and responsibilities of life, not to be deeply touched by so signal a mark of public esteem as that which I have thrice received at the hands of my political associates. I desire in this last moment to renew to them, one and all, my thanks and my gratitude.

"To those from whom I differ in my party relations the minority of this House—I tender my acknowledgments for the generous courtesy with which they have treated me. By one of those sudden and decisive changes sentatives is a post of honor, or responsibility. Its duties are at tinuous; they are both onerous performed in the broad light of d whole people, subject at all time tion, and always attended with the think no other official is held to rigid accountability. Parliaments nature are peremptory: almost al instantaneous in effect. They can in such a way as to win applaus but I am sure that no man of any fill this chair will ever see a diviand policy.

"Thanking you once more, as cordially for the honorable testimo record to my credit, I perform my declaring that the Forty-third Co constitutional limit, and that the tives stands adjourned without day

CHAPTER XII.

IN THE FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS; AGAIN ON THE FLOOR.

As intimated, the dread reactions in nature and business, which are comprehended in the word "calamity," had their counterpart in the ascendency of Democracy, in 1874. Democracy has ever been the retroactive agency in the American Republic. Its triumphs have been the correlative of antagonism to Americanism, whether nature chose to assert herself in bad crops, economy in financial distress, or offensive foreign interference in advantages which favored monarchy as against Republican solidarity and experiment. Slavery was not so much slavery as an aim at paid labor, not so much a system as a threat upon honest industry and substantial progress. The war of the Rebellion was not so much a war as a blow at the great Republican experiment and a return to the ideas that dominated Europe and bred arristocratic institutions.

The swash of sentiment in 1874, carried into the House a Democratic majority. The Forty-fourth Congress opened its first session December 6, 1875, with a majority, and organized by the election of Michael C. Kerr, of Indiana, as Speaker. Mr. Blaine, who had presided for six years was thus relegated to the floor. But he did not return to take any second place among the many distinguished members of his—then minority—party. He was the recognized leader of the Republican forces, and such a leadership has never been paralleled. It was a time when

the "Rebel Brigadiers," flushed with their return to power, inspired with the belief that Appomattox was to be avenged, angry at everything found on the statute books, and determined to recover by legislation all the ground lost by rebellion, were pressing their eagerly sought, though long postponed, opportunity to the uttermost. The situation called for all of the genius and boldness of such an one as Mr. Blaine in attack, all his versatility in discussion, all his self-possession in the midst of crisis, all his parliamentary wisdom in handling favored measures or baffling ingenious opposition. Through his adroit management and unmatched vigor he compelled a respect for the minority which made it a complete check on the opposition, and as potent in shaping political measures as if it had enjoyed a majority in numbers. Hitherto his career had developed the qualities of statesmanship necessary to success in shaping and advocating the measures of a majority. Men who are great in offensive emergencies often weaken and fail when put on the defensive. But hopefulness and the heroic so abounded in Mr. Blaine's nature that he was, if anything, stronger under the enemy's fire than when he had full command of the field. His vigilance was quickened and his aggressiveness showed at its best. Opposition seemed to present to him his greatest occasion for crushing argument, withering rebuke, or splendid rhetorical flight. It gave full play to those powers of extemporization which, as he has said himself, he never hoped to equal in vividness, grace or vigor, with the pen. To thought, to language, to gesture, to emotion, he added the magnetism of a striking presence, the thrill of burning earnestness, the inspiring consciousness of rectitude. Few have forgotten the sudden tilt by which, in a day, a victorious and exultant Democratic majority was changed into a surprised, subdued, and saddened crowd, under Mr. Blaine's aggressive and unexpected tactics. The debates of that memorable session on the proposition to remove the disabilities of Jefferson Davis are still fresh in all minds, and more likely to be appreciated perhaps to-day than at any time. Mr. Blaine's speeches laid the foundation of success in the campaign of 1876 though he was not selected as the standard-bearer. The excitement growing out of this exciting session with all its attendant events brought Mr. Blaine more prominently before the country than any other citizen for the time, centered upon him indeed a hostility more malignant and a love more enthusiastic than are often inspired by public service, and gave him such a national fame that he at once became a prominent candidate for the Presidency.

It was on the very first day of the session, December 6, 1874, that the Democrats attempted to tear open the Louisiana question, already put to rest by the President, both Houses of Congress, and the people of the State, that Mr. Blaine by his boldness, promptitude and parliamentary skill, turned the tactics of the majority to the account of the minority and served one of the most signal victories ever won in legislative halls.

Within a few days he proposed an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting the sectarian control of public school funds in any State. This was a measure which President Grant highly favored, as evinced by his declarations during a visit to the North-west. It never came up as a political measure, but Mr. Blaine formulated his thoughts respecting it in a letter to a prominent citizen in Ohio, in which he said:—

AUGUSTA, ME., October 20, 1875.

"MY DEAR SIR: The public-school agitation in your late campaign is liable to break out elsewhere, and oc-

curring first in one State and then in another, may keep the whole country in a ferment for years to come. This inevitably arouses sectarian feelings and leads to that bitterest and most deplorable of all strifes, the strife between religious denominations. It seems to me that this question ought to be settled in some definite and comprehensive way, and the only settlement that can be final is the complete victory for non-sectarian schools. I am sure this will be demanded by the American people at all hazards, and at any cost.

"The dread of sectarian legislation in this country has been felt many times in the past. It began very early. The first amendment to the Constitution, the joint production of Jefferson and Madison, proposed in 1789, declared that 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, nor prohibiting the free exercise thereof.' At that time, when the powers of the Federal Government were untried and developed, the fear was that Congress might be the source of danger to perfect religious liberty, and hence all power was taken away from it. At the same time the States were left free to do as they pleased in regard to 'an establishment of religion,' for the tenth amendment proposed by that eminent jurist, Theophilus Parsons, and adopted contemporaneously with the first, declared that 'all powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

"A majority of the people in any State in this Union can, therefore, if they desire it, have an established Church, under which the minority may be taxed for the erection of church-edifices which they never enter, and for the support of which they do not believe. This power was actually exercised in some of the States long after the

adoption of the Federal Constitution, and, although there may be no positive danger of its revival in the future, the possibility of it should not be permitted. The auspicious time to guard against an evil is when all will unite in preventing it.

"And in curing this constitutional defect all possibility of hurtful agitation on the school question should be ended also. Just let the old Jefferson-Madison amendment be applied to the States by adding the following to the inhibitory clauses in section 10, article 1, of the Federal Constitution, viz.:

"'No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; and no money raised by taxation in any State, for the support of the public schools or derived from any public fund therefor, shall ever be under the control of any religious sect, nor shall any money so raised ever be divided between religious sects or denominations.'

"This, you will observe, does not interfere with any State having just such a school system as its citizens may prefer, subject to the single and simple restriction that the schools shall not be made the arena for sectarian controversy or theological disputation. This adjustment, it seems to me, would be comprehensive and conclusive, and would be fair alike to Protestant and Catholic, to Jew and Gentile, leaving the religious faith and the conscience of every man free and unmolested.

"Very sincerely yours,
J. G. BLAINE."

On the tenth day of January, 1876, Mr. Randall of Pennsylvania called up a bill (of which he had given previous notice) relieving all persons in the United States the so-called Confederate State disabilities, upon their appear. United States Court, and takin that they will support and defe United States, and bear true fa same."

Mr. Randall declined to adm. manded the previous question, w 164, nays 100. The Amnesty passage, and, requiring a two-th ayes 175, noes 97.

Mr. Blaine immediately rose, His speech is given below.

"Mr. Speaker,—I rise to a move to reconsider the vote which I propose to debate the question notice that if the motion to reconsit is my intention to offer the amoread several times. I will not that it be read again.

the last fifteen years, with being bigoted, narrow, and illiberal, grinding down certain gentlemen in the Southern States under a great tyranny, from which the hard-heart-edness of this side of the House constantly refuses to relieve them.

"If I may anticipate as much wisdom as ought to characterize the gentlemen on the other side of the House, this may be the last time that amnesty need be brought to the attention of Congress. I desire, therefore, to place on record precisely what the Republican party has done in this matter. I wish to place it there as an imperishable record of liberality and magnanimity and mercy far beyond that which has ever before been shown in the world's history by conqueror to conquered.

"I entered Congress at the same time with the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Randall], while the hot flame of war was yet raging, when the Union was rocking to its foundations, and when no man knew whether we were to have a country or not. I think the gentleman from Pennsylvania would have been surprised when he and I were novices in the Thirty-eighth Congress, if he had been told that before our joint service ended we should see sixty-one gentlemen, who were then in arms against us, admitted to the privileges of membership in this body, and all by the grace and magnanimity of the Republican party. When the war ended, according to the universal usage of nations, the Government, then under the exclusive control of the Republican party, had the right to determine what should be the political status of the people who had suffered defeat. Did the Republicans, with full power in their hands, inaugurate any measure of persecution? Did they set forth on a career of bloodshed and vengeance? Did they take the prop"That no person shall be a in Congress, or elector of Presion or hold any office, civil or mustates or under any State, who, an oath as a member of Congret United States, or as a member or as an executive or judicial office port the Constitution of the United States, or as a member or as an executive or judicial office port the Constitution of the United States, or as a member or as an executive or judicial office port the Constitution of the United States, by a vote of two-third such disability."

"It has been variously estimather the time of its original insertion cluded from fourteen to thirty nearly as I can gather the facts about eighteen thousand men in apply to the hundreds of thousand please—who had been engaged in this Government. It hold to be

members in each branch were Republicans, to remit it, and the very first bill removed the disability from 1,578 citizens of the South. The next bill removed it from 3,526 others. Amnesty was thus granted by wholesale. Many of the gentlemen on this floor shared the grace conferred on those occasions. After these bills had passed, with several small bills specifying individuals, the Congress of the United States in 1872, still being two-thirds Republican in both branches, passed this general law:—

"That all political disabilities, imposed by the third section of the fourteenth article of amendments of the Constitution of the United States, are hereby removed from all persons whomsoever, except Senators and Representatives of the Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Congresses, officers in the judicial, military, and naval service of the United States, heads of departments, and foreign ministers of the United States."

"Since that measure passed, a very considerable number of the gentlemen whom it still left under disability have been relieved specially, by name, in separate Acts. But I believe, Mr. Speaker, in no instance since the Act of May 27, 1872, have the disabilities been removed, except upon respectful petition to the Congress of the United States from the person interested. I believe in no instance, except one, have they been refused upon the petition being presented. I believe in no instance, except one, has there been any other than a unanimous vote for removing the disability.

"I find there are widely varying opinions in regard to the number that are still under disabilities in the South. By conference with the Department of War and of the Navy, and with the assistance of some records which I have caused to be searched. I am able to state to the House, I believe with substantial accuracy, the number of gentlemen in the South still under disabilities. Those who were officers of the United States army, educated at its own expense at West Point and who joined the rebellion, and are still included under this Act, number, as nearly as the War Department can state it, 325; those in the Navy about 295. Those under the other heads-Senators and Representatives of the Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Congresses, officers in the judicial service, of the United States, heads of departments, and foreign ministers of the United States-make up a number somewnat more difficult to state accurately, but estimated at 125 to 130. The entire list, therefore, is about 750 persons now under disabilities out of the great unnumbered host that engaged in the rebellion.

"I am very frank to say that in regard to all these gentlemen, save one, I do not know any reason why amnesty should not be granted, as it has been to many others of the same class. I am not here to argue against it. The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Kasson] suggests "on their application." I agree with him on that point. But in the absence of the respectful form of application, which since May 22, 1872, has become a sort of common law as preliminary to amnesty, I simply wish to make it a condition that they shall go before a United States court, and, with uplifted hand, swear that they will conduct themselves as good and loyal citizens of the United States. That is all.

"Gentlemen may say that this is a foolish exaction. Possibly it is. But I confess I have a prejudice in favor of it. I insist upon it, because I do not want to impose citizenship on any gentleman. If I am correctly informed, and I state it on apparently good authority, there are

some gentlemen in this list who have spoken contemptuously of resuming citizenship, and have spoken still more contemptuously of applying for citizenship. I may state it erroneously, and if I do I am ready to be corrected; but I understand that Mr. Robert Toombs has, on several occasions, at watering-places, both in this country and in Europe, openly and publicly stated that he would not ask the United States for citzenship.

"I insist, therefore, that if Mr. Robert Toombs is not prepared to go into a court of the United States, and swear that he honestly intends to be a good and loyal citizen, he may live and die outside of that great privilege. I do not think that the two Houses of Congress should convert themselves into a joint convention for the purpose of embracing Mr. Robert Toombs, and requesting him to favor us by coming back and accepting the honors of citizenship. All we ask on this side of the House is, that each of these gentlemen shall show his good faith by coming forward and taking the oath, which all the members on this floor take, and are proud to take. It is a very small exaction to make as a preliminary to full restoration to all the rights of citizenship.

"In my amendment, Mr. Speaker, I have excepted Jefferson Davis from amnesty. I do not place his exclusion on the ground that he was, as he has been commonly called, the head and front of the rebellion, because I do not think the exception would be tenable. Mr. Davis was in that respect as guilty, no more so, no less so, than thousands of others who have received the benefit and grace of amnesty. Probably he was less efficient as an enemy of the United States, probably he was more useful as a disturber of the councils of the Confederacy, than many who have already received amnesty. It is not because of any particular and special damage that he

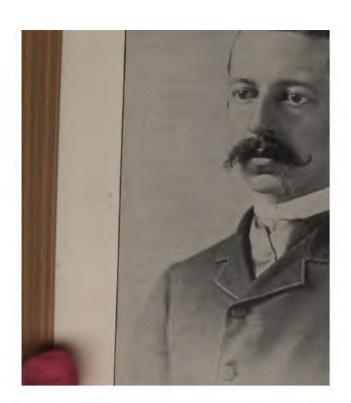
above others did to the Union, or because he was personally or especially of consequence, that I except him. But I except him on this ground: that he was the responsible author, knowingly, deliberately, guilty, of the great crime of Andersonville.

"I base his exclusion on that ground; and I believe to day, that so rapidly does one event follow on the heels of another in the age in which we live, that even those of us who were contemporaneous with the war, and especially those who have grown up since, fail to remember the crime at Andersonville.

"Since the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Randall] introduced this bill last month, I have taken occasion to re-read some of the historic cruelties of the world. I have read once more the details of those atrocious murders by the Duke of Alva in the Low Countries, which are always mentioned with a thrill of horror throughout Christendom. I have refreshed my memory with the details of the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, that stands out in history as another of those atrocities beyond imagination. I have read anew the horrors of the Spanish Inquisition. But neither the deeds of the Duke of Alva in the Low Countries, nor the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, nor the thumb-screws of the Spanish Inquisition, surpass the hideous crime of Andersonville. This is not matter of mere passion but of proof. Thank God, Mr. Speaker, that while this Congress was under different control from that which exists here to-day, with a Committee composed of both sides and of both branches, that tale of horror was placed where it cannot be denied, and where it must remain as a warning.

"I hold in my hand the story written out by a committee of Congress. I state that Winder, who is dead, was sent to Andersonville with a full knowledge of his





previous atrocities in Richmond. These were so terrible, that Confederate papers, the Richmond Examiner for one, after Winder had gone, thanked God that Richmond was rid of his presence. We in the North knew from returning skeletons what Winder had accomplished at Belle Isle and Libby; and, fresh from those accursed cruelties to his fellow-men, he was sent by Mr. Jefferson Davis, against the protests of others in the Confederacy, to construct this den of horrors at Andersonville.

"It would be utterly beyond the scope of the occasion, and beyond the limits of my hour, to go into full details. But in arraigning Mr. Davis, I will not ask any one to take the testimony of a Union soldier. I ask gentlemen of this House to take only the testimony of men who themselves were engaged in and devoted to the Confederate cause. If that testimony does not entirely justify the declaration I have made, then I will take prompt occasion to state that I have been in error in my reading.

"After detailing the preparation of that prison, the arrangements made with studied cruelty for the victims, the report which I hold in my hand, and which was concurred in by Democratic members as well as Republican members of Congress, gives a condensed description of the horrors—and I beg members to hear it, for it is far more impressive than any thing I can say. After giving full details, the report states:—

"The subsequent history of Andersonville has startled and shocked the world with a tale of horror, of woe, and death before unheard and unknown to civilization. No pen can describe, no painter sketch, no imagination comprehend its fearful and unutterable iniquity. It would seem as if the concentrated madness of earth and hell had found its final lodgement in the breast of those who

inaugurated the rebellion and controlled the policy of the Confederate government, and that the prison at Andersonville had been selected for the most terrible human sacrifice which the world has ever seen. Into its narrow walls were crowded thirty-five thousand enlisted men, many of them the bravest and best, the most devoted and heroic of those grand armies which carried the flag of their country to final victory. For long and weary months here they suffered, maddened, were murdered, Here they lingered, unsheltered from the and died. burning rays of a tropical sun by day, and drenching and deadly dews by night, in every stage of mental and physical disease, hungered, emaciated, starving, maddened; festering with unhealed wounds; gnawed by the ravages of scurvy and gangrene; with swollen limb and distorted visage; covered with vermin which they had no power to extirpate; exposed to the flooding rains which drove them drowning from the miserable holes in which, like swine, they burrowed; parched with thirst, and mad with hunger; racked with pain, or prostrated with the weakness of dissolution; with naked limbs and matted hair; filthy with smoke and mud; soiled with the very excrement from which their weakness would not permit them to escape; eaten by the gnawing worms which their own wounds had engendered; with no bed but the earth; no covering save the cloud or the sky; these men, these heroes, born in the image of God, thus crouching and writhing in their terrible torture and calculating barbarity, stand forth in history as a monument of the surpassing horrors of Andersonville, as it shall be seen and read in all future time, realizing in the studied torments of their prison-house the ideal of Dante's 'Inferno' and Milton's 'Hell.'"

"I venture the assertion, from reading the testimony upon which the report is based, that this description is not overdrawn. I will read but a single paragraph from the testimony of Rev. William John Hamilton, a Catholic priest at Macon, who, I believe, never was in the North. He is a Southern man, and a Democrat, and a Catholic priest. And when you unite those three qualities in one man, you will not find much testimony that would be strained in favor of the Republican party, or any member of it.

"This man had gone to Andersonville on a mission of mercy to the men of his own faith, to administer to them the rites of his church in their last moments. That is the way in which he happened to be a witness. I will read his answer under oath to a question addressed to him in regard to the bodily condition of the prisoners. He said:—

"Well, as I said before, when I went there I was kept so busily engaged in giving the sacrament to the dying men that I could not observe much, but of course I could not keep my eyes closed as to what I saw there. I saw a great many men perfectly naked [their clothes had been taken from them by rebels, as other testimony shows], walking about the stockade perfectly nude. They seemed to have lost all regard for delicacy, shame, morality, or any thing else. I would frequently have to creep on my hands and knees into the holes that the men had burrowed in the ground, and stretch myself out alongside of them to hear their confessions. I found them, almost living in vermin in those holes; they could not be in any other condition but a filthy one, because they got no soap, and no change of clothing, and were there all huddled up together."

Let me read further, from the same witness, a personal description:—

"The first person I conversed with on entering the stockade was a countryman of mine, a member of the Catholic Church, who recognized me as a clergyman. I think his name was Farrell. He was from the north of Ireland. He came toward me and introduced himself. He was quite a boy. I do not think, judging from his appearance, that he could have been more than sixteen years old. I found him without a hat, and without any covering on his feet, and without jacket or coat. He told me that his shoes had been taken from him on the battlefield. I found the boy suffering very much from a wound on his right foot,-in fact, the foot was split open like an ovster,-and on inquiring the cause, they told me it was from exposure to the sun in the stockade, and not from any wound received in battle. I took off my boots, and gave him a pair of socks to cover his feet, and told him I would bring him some clothing, as I expected to return to Andersonville the following week. I had to return to Macon to get another priest to take my place on Sunday. When I returned, on the following week, on inquiring for this man Farrell, his companions told me he had stepped across the dead-line, and requested the guards to shoot him. He was not insane at the time I was conversing with him."

"Mr. Speaker, I do not desire to go into such horrible details as these for any purpose of arousing bad feeling. I wish only to say that the man who administered the affairs of that prison went there by order of Mr. Davis, was sustained by him, and the Rev. William John Hamilton, from whose testimony I have read, states again that

he went to General Howell Cobb, commanding that department, and asked that intelligence as to the condition of affairs there be transmitted to the Confederate government at Richmond. There are many proofs to show that Mr. Davis was thoroughly informed as to the condition of affairs at Andersonville.

"One word more, and I shall lay aside this book. When the march of General Sherman in the Atlanta campaign was in progress, there was danger, or supposed danger, that his army might come into the neighborhood of Andersonville; and the following order, to which I invite the attention of the House,—a regular military order,—Order No. 13, dated, Headquarters Confederate States Military Prison, Andersonville, July 27, 1864, was issued by Brigadier-General John H. Winder:—

"The officers on duty and in charge of the battery of Florida artillery at the time will, upon receiving notice that the enemy have approached within seven miles of this post, open fire upon the stockade with grape-shot, without reference to the situation beyond these lines of defence."

"Here, within this horrible stockade, were thirty-five thousand poor, helpless, naked, starving, sickened, dying men! The Catholic priest to whom I have referred states that he begged General Howell Cobb to represent that, if these men could not be exchanged, or could not be relieved in any other way, they should be taken to the Union lines in Florida and paroled; for they were shadows, they were skeletons. Yet it was declared in a regular order, issued by the commandant of the prison, who had been specially selected by Mr. Davis, that if the Union forces should come within seven miles, the battery of

Florida artillery, should open fire with grape-shot on these shadows and skeletons without the slightest possible regard to what was going on outside. And they had stakes put up with flags in order that the line of fire might be properly directed from the battery of Florida artillery.

"I mention only one additional horror in this dark valley of cruelty and death. When one of the tortured victims escaped from its confines—as was sometimes though not often the case—he was remorsely hunted down by bloodhounds. In a single month twenty-five escaped, but in the official record kept by the notorious Wirz they were taken by the dogs before the daily returns were made out."

"Mr. Speaker, the Administration of Martin Van Buren, that went down in a popular convulsion in 1840, had no little of obloquy thrown upon it because it was believed that the Seminoles in the swamps of Florida had been hunted with bloodhounds.

"Bloodthirsty dogs were sent after the hiding savages, and the civilization and Christian feeling of the American people revolted against the cruelty. I state here, upon the testimony of witnesses as numerous as would require me all day to read, that bloodhounds were used at Andersonville; that large packs of them were kept, and Confederate officers directed them on the hunt; that they were sent after the poor unfortunate, shrinking men who by any accident could get out of that horrible stockade.

"I do not wish to be understood as arraigning the Southern people for these inhumanities. God forbid that I should charge sympathy with such wrongs upon the mass of any people. There were many evidences of great uneasiness in the South about the condition of Andersonville. I know that leading officers of the Con-

federacy protested against it. I know that many of the subordinate officers protested against it. I know that a distinguished gentleman from North Carolina, now representing his State in the other end of the Capitol, protested against it. But I regret to say that these wrongs were known to the Confederate Congress, they were known at the doorway of their Senate, along the corridors of their Capitol. A gentleman whom I see at this moment, who served in the Confederate Congress, and who had before served in the Senate of the United States, brought them to the attention of the Confederate Congress, and I class him with those whose humanity was never burned out by the angry fires of the rebellion. I allude to the Honorable and now venerable Henry Stuart Foote.

"It is one of the rank offenses of Jefferson Davis, Mr. Speaker, that besides conniving at the cruelties at Andersonville, he concealed them from the Southern people. He labored not only to conceal them, but to make false statements about them. We have obtained, and have now in the Congressional Library, a complete series of Mr. Davis's messages—the official imprint from Richmond. I have looked over them, and I have an extract here from his message of Nov. 7, 1864, at the very time when these horrors were at their height and their worst. Mr. Davis said:—

"The solicitude of the Government for the relief of our captive fellow-citizens has known no abatement, but has on the contrary been still more deeply evoked by the additional sufferings to which they have been wantonly subjected by deprivation of adequate food, clothing, and fuel, which they were not even permitted to purchase from the prison sutler."

And he adds that the-

"Enemy attempted to excuse their barborous treatment by the unfounded allegation that it was retaliatory for like conduct on our part."

In answer to this atrocious slander by the Confederate President, now become historic, I am justified in declaring that there is not a Confederate soldier living who has any credit as a man in his community, and who was a prisoner in the hands of the Union forces, who will say that he ever was cruelly treated; that he ever was deprived of just such rations as the Union soldiers had—the same food and the same clothing.

Mr. Cook of Georgia. Thousands of them say itthousands of them; men of as high character as any in this House.

Mr. Blaine. I take issue upon that. There is not one who can substantiate it—not one. As for measures of retaliation, although goaded by this terrific treatment of our friends imprisoned by Mr. Davis, the Senate of the United States specifically refused to pass a resolution of retaliation, as contrary to modern civilization and to the first precepts of Christianity. No retaliation was attempted or justified. It was forbidden, and Mr. Davis knew it was forbidden as well as I knew it or any other man, because what took place in Washington or what took place at Richmond was known on either side of the line within a day or two thereafter.

Mr. Speaker, this is not a proposition to punish Jefferson Davis. Nobody is attempting that. I thought the indictment of Mr. Davis at Richmond, under the administration of President Johnson, was not justifiable, for he was indicted only for that of which he was guilty in com-

mon with all others who went into the Confederate revolt. But here and now I express my firm conviction that there is not a government, not a civilized government on the face of the globe-I am very sure there is not a European government-that would not have arrested Mr. Davis at the close of the war, and when they had him in their power would not have tried him for maltreatment of the prisoners of war, and shot him within thirty days. France, Russia, England, Germany, Austria, any one of them would have done it. The poor victim Wirz deserved his death for brutal treatment and murder of many victims, but it was weak policy on the part of our government to allow Jefferson Davis to go at large and to hang Wirz. Wirz was nothing in the world but a mere subordinate, acting under orders, and there was no special reason for singling him out for death. I do not say he did not deserve it. He deserved no mercy, but, as I have often said, his execution seemed like passing over the president, superintendent, and board of directors in the case of a great railway accident and hanging the brakeman of the rear car.

"I repeat, there is no proposition here to punish Jefferson Davis. Nobody is seeking to do it. That time has gone by. The statute of limitations, the common feelings of humanity, supervene for his benefit. But what you ask us to do is to declare by a vote of two-thirds of both branches of Congress that we consider Mr. Davis worthy to fill the highest offices in the United States, if he can find a constituency to indorse him. He is already a voter; he is at liberty to engage in any calling; he can buy and he can sell; he can go and he can come. He is as free as any man in the United States. It is now proposed in the pending bill for which the gantleman from Pennsylvania stands sponsor, that Mr. Davis, by a two-

thirds vote of the Senate and a two-thirds vote of the House, shall be declared eligible and worthy to fill any office under the Government of the United States including the Chief Magistracy thereof. For one, upon full deliberation, I refuse my assent to that proposition.

"One word, Mr. Speaker, by way of explanation, which I omitted. It has been said in mitigation of Jefferson Davis's responsibility for the Andersonville horror, that the men who died there (I think the number was about twelve thousand) fell a prey to an epidemic, and died of a disease which could not be averted. The record shows this to be untrue. Out of 35,000 men about 33 per cent. died; while of the soldiers encamped near by to guard the prisoners, only one man in four hundred died; that is, within half a mile, only one in four hundred died, while inside the stockade one in three died.

"As to the general question of amnesty, Mr. Speaker, as I have already said, it is too late to debate it. Whether the general and generous remission of political disability by the Republicans has been in all respects wise, or whether it has been unwise, I will not detain the House here and now to discuss. Even if I had a strong conviction upon that question, I do not know that it would be productive of any good to enunciate it at this time. But I must say, it is a singular spectacle that the Republicans, in possession of the entire Government, have deliberately called back into political power the leading men of the South, nearly every one of whom is their bitter and relentless and malignant foe; and to-day, from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, the very men who have received this amnesty are as busy as they were before the war in consolidating the old slave States into one compact political organization. We see the banner held out, blazoned again with the inscription that with the united

South and a few votes from the North this country can be governed. I want the people to understand the character of the movement; to appreciate its animus, to measure its intent. But I do not think that offering amnesty to the seven hundred and fifty men who are now without it will hasten or retard the course of events in the South.

"It is often said that "we shall lift Mr. Davis again into great consequence by refusing him amnesty." That is not for me to consider. I only see before me, when his name is presented, a man who, by a wave of his hand, by a nod of his head, could have put an end to the atrocious cruelties at Andersonville!

"Some of us had kinsmen there, many of us had friends there, all of us had countrymen there. In the name of those kinsmen, friends, and countrymen, I here protest, and shall with my vote protest, against calling back and crowning with the honors of full American citizenship the man who stands responsible for that organized murder."

No session of Congress had ever been more barren of practical results. The Democrats had been stampeded at the start by the boldness and vigilance of the minority, and the arrogance of the "Rebel Brigadiers" had been taught caution, where it escaped humiliation. Despite a few cheese-paring enactments by which the Democrats hoped to gain a reputation for economy before the country, no measure of moment became a law. But while this was so of the final passage of bills, the debates were remarkable in every respect. They were exciting, brilliant, acrimonious, and as Mr. Blaine was nearly always their centre on the Republican side, he not only gained new laurels in the minds of the people, but stood out more than ever as the ablest exponent of Republican doctrine.

In proportion, he drew more and more the malignant hostility of his enemies, who, unable to match him either in the parliamentary or forensic field, did not hesitate to resort to the undermining processes which always distinguish desperate men engaged in a desperate cause.

It was on Feb. 10, 1876, that Mr. Blaine arose to address the House on the question of Finance. It had been noised abroad that he designed to speak on this subject, then regarded as momentous in pointing the way toward resumption of specie payments, and as indicative of the stand which the Republican party would take in the coming presidential campaign. And the subject was no less momentous from a personal standpoint, for it was well known that Mr. Blaine had presidential aspirations, and that what he might say would come, as it were, from a candidate. The galleries were packed from an early hour, and the floor contained some of the best known personages in Washington. The speech was a concise and graphic presentation of the financial history of the country, and a severe arraignment of the Democratic policy respecting national currency and credit. Mr. Blaine particularly dwelt on the doctrine of good faith in all government transactions, dwelt largely on the conditions of the country and the working out of inevitable financial laws, exposed the danger of attacking and abolishing the National banking system, antagonized the schemes for the inflation of the currency, and argued ably for the adoption of gradual means to bring the legal-tender notes to par. He was most pointed and strong when he contrasted the Republican party, as ever ready to defend national honor, with the Democratic party as ever ready to attack it, or, at least, as divided in sentiment when the integrity of the currency came up for consideration. In his history of the legal-tender notes, he forcibly reminded

the majority that their issue became necessary when the Treasury was without a dollar to carry on the war, and that their subsequent increase and decline in value had been accompanied with the solemn promise on the part of the nation that they should never exceed \$400,000,000 in the aggregate, and that a policy of redemption rather than of inflation should become the permanent one. This saving policy, the only safe and honorable one was powerfully contrasted with the Democratic hostility to the issue of the legal-tenders, to their assumed fidelity to the Constitution which restrained them, even in time of war, from voting for an illegal currency to enable the government to perpetuate its existence, and to their demand in time of peace for the issue of that same currency to an amount equal to the purchase of \$1,600,000,000 of bonds.

He dwelt at large on the ability of the United States to resume specie payments and pay its debts in honest money, and greatly strengthened all his arguments by references to the Pacific States, and to Canada where a population less than that of New York and frozen up for half the year, were enjoying the luxury of specie payment with American coin and were prospering accordingly. The great error of the past had been, he said, the discredit cast on the legal tenders by withdrawing the privilege of funding them. Up till that time they had held favor with other government securities, but after that the impression seemed to grow that they would never be redeemed. In order to correct that impression and as one of the first steps toward resumption, the privilege of refunding them into a low interest bearing bond should be revived, the time of such bond should be extended, and the amount so funded should be limited. This would prove an amelioration to the debtor classes, and in time the bonds themselves might become a legal tender in their hands for all debts contracted prior to the passage of the act.

This speech of Mr. Blaine made a profound impression on the country. It was timely, in that it ran so counter to the various inflation schemes of the hour and set the standard of national credit on a plane which practically exempted it from further successful attack. It proved to be the beginning of that powerful sentiment which, supported by the patriotism of the people and the overwhelming business interests, chrystalized so rapidly into resumption of specie payments. It was, moreover, one of those masterly efforts which commended the author to the country as a man fitted to be entrusted with its highest trusts and honors.

Later on, in March, 1876, Mr. Blaine felt called upon to combat the growing iniquity of attaching "riders" to appropriation bills, under cover of which the then majority sought to effect legislation inimical to the country, and which could not have been carried on its independent merits. This "thumb-screw" process of attaining unwarranted ends he denounced as unworthy an intelligent majority and as exceedingly dangerous.

In the same month he overmatched the friends, or pretended friends, of a very self-righteous bill to make it a misdemeanor for any person in the employ of the United States to demand or contribute election funds. He had but little respect for the source whence this bill emanated, and knew full well that its movers and supporters had not been in the habit of observing the sentiment it embraced. After moving an amendment to the bill so as to make it include Senators, Members of the House and Delegates from Territories, he said he had run seven times for Congress and had never contributed so much as a postage stamp for any improper purpose in order to secure his election; and that there was one thing far worse than the bribing of voters, and that was the fraudulent count of the votes after they were deposited in the ballot box. "Bad as bribing the voters is," said he, "and it is almost an unendurable evil, it is not so bad as bold and naked fraud in the count. There you have literally taken away the foundation of free government. A fraud in the count is the destruction of Republican government. One or two men may do more than a thousand bribed men can do outside. This country demands that elections shall be pure. There is not an honest man in either party who does not desire it. Without that, all government is a failure; and, sir, there is a wide-spread conviction to-day that in a good many of the States of this Union it is impossible to get a fair election. That the person entitled to vote under the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution-the colored voters-get a fair show and equal chance to deposit their ballots is not believed by ten honest men north of Mason and Dixon's line, in my judgment. We invite you to go with us in providing, after we shall have destroyed bribery outside of the poolingbooth, that you shall not have the embodiment of rascality behind it to vitiate and destroy the purity of elections within."

The intense activity of Mr. Blaine during this session, his parliamentary skill, his masterly phillipics, his eloquent, studious and sustained efforts, broadened his chances for rapid promotion, and brought him under discussion everywhere as a presidential possibility. He grew in popularity before the people, especially among the rank and file of his party. They applauded his courage in debate, his mastery in fencing, his ability to hit straight from the shoulder. Wise statesmen saw in him those more substantial qualities which conspire to make a suc-

cessful administration of National affairs. Time had seasoned his judgment and given him a clearer insight into the character of men and the secret springs of human action. He could marshal forces and lead comprehensively. A Pennsylvanian by birth, he had resided in Kentucky, and had become a New Englander by adoption; therefore he had national elements in a geographic sense. As Speaker of the House, he had laid the groundwork of a large acquaintance and popularity in the West. He had not favored the "bloody shirt" sentiment and had opposed a Republican bill which became known as the "Force Bill," and therefore was not as obnoxious to certain Southerners as some others. He was genial, magnetic, in full possession of the advantages which accrued from fifteen years of public service. These were some of the things which constituted the drift of sentiment toward Blaine as a presidential candidate in 1876, and made him a conspicuous factor in every deliberation designed to have a bearing on the coming National Convention of his party.

But before this, he was to undergo an ordeal adroitly arranged for him by his political enemies in the Forty-fourth Congress and designed to gratify their revenge, by subtracting from his popularity before the people, destroying his chances as a presidential candidate, and impairing his uses as a future legislator. This nefarious scheme originated in the shallowest rumors respecting Mr. Blaine and would have immediately come to nought had the Democratic majority in the Forty-fourth Congress followed an honorable procedure and refused to give investigation a personal and vengeful turn. Then, and ever since, when political malice vented its slang or wished to increase its venom by the cowardly use of inuendo it has referred to the "Mulligan Letters" as



WALTER DAMROSCH.



something most mysterious and inculpating respecting Mr. Blaine. They did not constitute even the gist of the charges against Mr. Blaine, but were only an incident in the turn which affairs took; yet being what the mob could grasp and use, they became the arrow, or rather the sling-shot, by which, in the absence of any decent argument, they aimed blows at his head.

We have seen how Mr. Blaine, when attacked in the Credit Mobilier affair, wrested vindication from his enemies. So, now he threw them into confusion and utterly exploded their charges, while laying bare their malicious motives. The history of the charges and the investigation constitute an epoch in Mr. Blaine's life, and for this reason they are set forth fully. As preliminary to the charges we have consulted the Congressional record for the following,—which we submit as a succinct history of the entire affair, not intending it however to substitute that which Mr. Blaine made for himself in the House and which can be learned from a publication of the proceedings in detail.

A bill approved Feb. 9, 1853, before the war, gave right of way and grants of public lands in Arkansas and Missouri to the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad. An act of July 28, 1860, revived the above act. On April 9, 1869, the day before the last of the extra session of the Forty-first Congress, a bill was in order to extend the time of the completion of the first section of twenty miles of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad in order that it might not forfeit its land grants and franchises. Four hundred men were then at work and the job would be finished soon, but not before the close of the session, which was the next day, April 10. Mr. Julian moved as an amendment to the bill the incorporation of the Memphis, El Paso and Pacific Railroad. The design was to

kill the Little Rock bill, or make it carry this new charter, which granted a right of way and all charter privileges. Mr. Roots, of Arkanas, saw the object, pleaded for its withdrawal, and besought the Speaker to prevent this dilatory legislation. Mr. Blaine, as is the custom with Speakers when a member unacquainted with parliamentary procedure is in a fix, suggested that the amendment was not germane. His page so informed General Logan, a friend of the Little Rock bill, and he rose to a question of order and said:

"The amendment is not germane. The bill is to revive a certain land grant and extend time. The amendment is another charter for a Pacific Railroad with franchises, bridges, right of way, etc. I have been in favor of the Little Rock bill, but it cannot be made to carry this."

The chair sustained the point of order thus:

"It is expressly prohibited by the rule that where a land grant is under consideration another grant to a different company cannot be entertained. This is not a specific land grant, but it does give way the public land of the United States, so far as to give a right of way. Again, by the rules, no proposition upon a subject different from the one under consideration can be admitted under the color of an amendment."

That this was good law no person has ever doubted. To have ruled otherwise would have perverted the situation and been regarded as improper and illegal. The bill passed the same day with an amendment by Mr. Julian providing that the lands donated be sold only to actual settlers. See Congressional Record, p. 701, First Session Forty-ninth Congress, proceedings of April 9.

In the Forty-fourth Congress, First Session, May 2, 1876, a resolution was passed and referred to the Judiciary Committee instructing them to inquire whether the Union Pacific Railway Company did in 1871 or 1872 become owner of any bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railway at less than their market value. Mr. Knott, Ky., was chairman of the Judiciary Committee. He raised a sub-committee of three, of which Mr. Hunton, Va., was chairman, to conduct the investigation. Shortly after, another resolution was referred, asking for similar investigation as to the Northern Pacific Railroad.

"Mr. Blaine had urged a prompt report from the Committee. They had pushed along with their duty as to the Union Pacific Railroad Company; the endeavor being to show that he was interested in \$64,000 worth of bonds of Little Rock which the Union Pacific was said to have held. The books showed no evidence of such ownership or transfer. Hon. Thomas A. Scott swore he never made it, nor knew of it. Sidney Dillion, President, E. H. Rollins, Treasurer, Mr. Millard, a Government Director of the road and Morton, Bliss & Co., through whom all the negotiations of the road were carried on, all sent written denials of any such transaction. The Committee utterly failed to find a word of inculpatory evidence regarding this transaction.

As to the Northern Pacific Railroad the evidence was all one way. Not an oath could be educed nor even so much as an explanation which connected Mr. Blaine with any operation of that road.

Rumors had not thus far proved very exact. A wildgoose chase was in order. The Committee began to stretch their powers by inquiry into Mr. Blaine's private transactions with Mr. Fisher, a Boston sugar refiner, and an intimate friend, who had at one time been a partner, or in intimate relations with one Mr. Caldwell, a broker. These had had for a clerk one Mulliken, or Mulligan—there are two spellings. Mr. Blaine's business relations with this firm extended over a period of thirteen years. Many letters had passed, addressed to Mr. Fisher, Mr. Caldwell not being known personally to Mr. Blaine, and for several years being both disconnected with the firm and out of the country.

In pursuit of rumors implicating Mr. Blaine in the transactions of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad, both Mr. Fisher and Mr. Mulligan were summoned. Mr. Mulligan borrowed of Mr. Fisher certain letters for the purpose, as he said, "of refreshing his memory" as to Mr. Blaine's dealings with the firm. Mr. Fisher came armed with no such documents, and his testimony was as to the fairness of all transactions between the firm When Mr. Blaine learned that Mr. and Mr. Blaine. Mulligan was before the Committee with letters, to which he (Mulligan) was a stranger, in his possession, he asked to see them privately, and then returned them. On reflection he asked for them a second time with the privilege of copying them, pledging their return. He took advice of Judge Jeremiah S. Black and Hon. Matt Carpenter, two of the profoundest lawvers then living, who advised him to retain them as privileged communications of which either Mr. Fisher, to whom they were all addressed, or himself, were the only proper custodians, and possession of which the Committee could not honorably have through a stranger to them, nor compel by any legal process. He further showed them to some fortyfour members of Congress, that their full import might become known. Many tales were set affoat by Mulligan, or by the invention of others, as to Mr. Blaine's appeals for possession of these letters. They are too

wild for credence, and not supported by trustworthy evidence.

At this juncture Mr. Blaine determined to call the attention of the House and the country to the methods pursued by the Committee. He had by this time become fully persuaded that the object of its procedure was personal to himself, and not in the interest of the public. He therefore, on June 5, 1876, rose to a privileged question, and stating that the Committee were about to turn their attention to newspaper reports touching business transactions with friends in Boston, a matter clearly beyond their jurisdiction under the resolution of investigation, moved a resolution for the investigation of all the railroads that had received land grants. He then said: "When this investigation began it was evidently confined to a transaction of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, in which it was alleged to have had in its possession \$75,-000, worth of the bonds of the Little Rock Railroad. Then it took the direction of every rumor affoat. I had to appeal to the Committee and it decided that its Chairman, the gentleman from Virginia, had no right to go There. When the famous Mulligan came loaded down with letters, he insisted on going into all my private memoranda and allowing them to be exhibited, and the gentleman tried his best to capture and control my private correspondence. I have them. I claim them. I shall retain them, and let the Committee do what they will they cannot by any process in their power reclaim them."

Here Mr. Blaine held aloft the entire batch, and then proceeded to read them one by one. They numbered fifteen in all, with two or three scraps. After they were read the clerk called their numbers and the memoranda on the back to see if all had been read. They all com-

pared except number eight, which on examination did not turn out to be Mr. Blaine's letter at all, but one written by Mr. Fisher to Mr. Blaine. This is the one which Mr. Blaine's enemies say he failed to read. It was not in the batch. He could not have read it had it been there, under the plea he had made for the sanctity of private correspondence. That he garbled the reading is absurd, for their contents were known to fifty of his friends, they were open to the inspection of the entire House, and moreover he insisted on Mr. Hunton, Chairman of the Investigating Committee, coming to his house and looking at them all privately, a step he refused to take, for the reason that if they could not be brought lawfully before the Committee for its use, he had no right to see them:

The letters related solely to business transactions with Mr. Fisher. As Mr. Mulligan stated in his testimony, there was but one or two of them that could by any possibility raise a suspicion that Mr. Blaine knew anything of the affairs of the Union Pacific Railroad. We have aready seen the testimony of the officers of that road Most of them had no meaning except as between an ord nary banking officer and a patron. One to which much importance has been attached, written to Mr. Fisher, June 29, 1869, nearly three months after his decision as Speaker. seems to imply that Mr. Caldwell knew of "ground floor" securities of the Little Rock road which might be had. But if so Mr. Fisher failed to find it out and Mr. Blaine never purchased or received any such. As to said road he had never heard tell of it till it came up in the bill on which he rendered the decision, nor had any of his Boston friends any interest in it at that time nor till three months afterward.

Subsequently when the mortgage bonds of the road were on sale, Mr. Blaine in common with hundreds of

other public men, bankers and private citizens, bought what was called a "block" of these Little Rock securities, in market overt and on the same terms as any other person. The "block" consisted of a certain amount of first mortgage and second mortgage bonds, and a proportionate amount of stock. By selling the second mortgage bonds he hoped to clear his investment. He did sell them, and to friends. They went down, and not wishing his friends to lose by him, he took them back and pocketed the loss. Many of the letters complained of the cramped condition he found himself in on account of this. By October 4, 1869, this, to him, disastrous transaction was closed out. On that date, and after he had evidently been looking over his decisions as Speaker, he wrote a letter to Mr. Fisher, in which he cursorily calls attention to the decision in question and incidentally alludes to it as one which in its results favored the road. At this time Mr. Blaine had sold all his securities and had no interest whatever in it. He had previously shown in the House that the road had derived its " real life, value and franchises from the State of Arkansas," so that the legislation by Congress was not so vital as some supposed. Hon. Jeremiah S. Black, speaking of Mr. Blaine's letters, said: "They prove that the charges repeated are not only untrue but impossible, and will continue so to prove till the Gregorian Calendar can be turned round, and October made to precede April in the stately processsion of the years."

It should not be omitted that the Record shows that Mr. Knott, pending the investigation, telegraphed to London to Mr. Caldwell, and got a response which was a complete exoneration of Mr. Blaine, but which was for a long time withheld, if not finally suppressed. All in all the animus of the investigation became too patent for it

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to command any respect. The only purpose it ever served was to float for a brief while the idle rumors of previous years. It never reported a thought worthy of serious consideration, and in fact wasted away and disappeared in a vacuum of its own invitation.

The reader might well stop here and wonder at the extent of that malignity which could use the privilege of place for sole purposes of persecution. But, lest something has been omitted in our synopsis of a situation which may have deprived Mr. Blaine of the highest honors the nation could confer, we reproduce his vindication from the *Record* as he himself made it at the time. Let it be understood that baseless rumors called Mr. Blaine to his feet as early as April 24, 1876, on which date he took occasion to say in the House:—

"Mr. Speaker, with the leave of the House so kindly granted, I shall proceed to submit certain facts and correct certain errors personal to myself. The dates of the correspondence embraced in my statement will show that it was impossible for me to make it earlier. I shall be as brief as the circumstances will permit. For some months past a charge against me has been circulating in private -and was recently made public-designing to show that I had in some indirect manner received the large sum of \$64,000 from the Union Pacific Railroad Company in 1871-for what services or for what purpose has never been stated. The alleged proofs of the serious accusation was based, according to the original story, upon the authorship of E. H. Rollins, treasurer of the Union Pacific company, who, it was averred, had full knowledge that I got the money, and also upon the authority of Morton, Bliss & Company, bankers of New York, through whom the draft for \$64,000 was said to have been negotiated for my benefit, as they confidently knew. Hearing of this charge some weeks in advance of its publication, I procured the following statement from the two principal witnesses, who were quoted as having such definite knowledge against me:

"'Union Pacific Railroad Company, "Boston, March 31, 1876.

"DEAR SIR: In response to your inquiry, I beg leave to state that I have been treasurer of the Union Pacific Railroad Company since April 8, 1871, and have necessarily known of all disbursements made since that date. During the entire period up to the present time I am sure that no money has been paid in any way or to any person by the company in which you were interested in any manner whatever. I make the statement in justice to the company, to you, and to myself.

"'Very respectfully yours,
"E. H. ROLLINS.

"'HON. JAMES G. BLAINE."

"'NEW YORK, April 6, 1876.

"DEAR SIR: In answer to your inquiry we beg to say that no draft, note, or check, or other evidence of value has passed through our books in which you were known or supposed to have any interest of any kind, direct or indirect.

"'We remain, very respectfully, your obedient servants, Morton, Bliss & Co.

"'Hon. James G. Blaine,
"'Washington, D. C."

"Some persons on reading the letter of Morton, Bliss & Co. said that its denial seemed to be confined to any payment that had passed through their books, whereas

they might have paid a draft in which I was interested and yet no entry made of it on their books. On the criticism being made known to the firm, they at once addressed me the following letter:

"'NEW YORK, April 13, 1876.

"'DEAR SIR: It has been suggested to us that our letter of the 6th instant was not sufficiently inclusive or exclusive. In that letter we stated "that no draft, note, or check, or other evidence of value has ever passed through our books in which you were known or supposed to have any interest, direct or indirect." It may be proper for us to add that nothing has been paid to us in any form or at any time, to any person or any corporation in which you were known, believed, or supposed to have any interest whatever.

"We remain, very respectfully, your obedient servants, Morton, Bliss & Co.

"'Hon. James G. Blaine, "'Washington, D. C.'

"The two witnesses quoted for the original charge having thus effectually disposed of it, the charge itself reappeared in another form to this effect, namely: That a certain draft was negotiated at the house of Morton, Bliss & Company, in 1871, through Thomas A. Scott, then president of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, for the sum of \$64,000, and that \$75,000 of the bonds of the Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroad Company were pledged as collateral; that the Union Pacific company paid the draft and took up the collateral; that the cash proceeds of it went to me, and that I had furnished, or sold, or in some way conveyed or transferred to Thomas A. Scott, these Little Rock & Fort Smith bonds which

had been used as collateral; that the bonds in reality had belonged to me or some friend or constituent of mine for whom I was acting. I endeavor to state the charge in its boldest form and in all its phases.

"I desire here and now to declare that all and every part of this story that connects my name with it is absolutely untrue, without a particle of foundation in fact, and without a tittle of evidence to substantiate it. I never had any transaction of any kind with Thomas A. Scott concerning bonds of the Little Rock & Fort Smith road, or the bonds of any other railroad, or any business in any way connected with railroads, directly or indirectly, immediately or remotely. I never had any business transactions whatever with the Union Pacific Railroad Company, or any of its officers or agents or representatives, and never in any manner received from that company, directly or indirectly, a single dollar in money, or stocks, or bonds, or any other form of value. And as to the particular transaction referred to, I never so much as heard of it until nearly two years after its alleged occurrence, when it was talked of at the time of the Credit Mobilier investigation in 1873. But while my denial ought to be conclusive, I should greatly regret to be compelled to leave the matter there. I am fortunately able to sustain my own declaration by the most conclusive evidence that the case admits of or that human testimony can supply. If any person or persons know the truth or falsity of these charges, it must be the officers of the Union Pacific Railroad Company. I accordingly addressed a note to the president of that company, a gentleman who has been a director of the company from its organization, I believe, who has a more thorough acquaintance with its business transactions, probably, than any other man. The correspondence which I here submit will explain itself and leave nothing to be said. I will read these letters in their proper order. They need no comment.

" WASHINGTON, D. C., April 13, 1876.

"'DEAR SIR: You have doubtless observed the scandal now in circulation in regard to my having been interested in certain bonds of the Little Rock & Fort Smith road, alleged to have been purchased by your company in 1871. It is due to me, I think, that some statement in regard to the subject should be made by yourself as the official head of the Union Pacific Railroad Company.

"'Very respectfully, J. G. BLAINE.

"SIDNEY DILLON, Esq.,

" President Union Pacific Railroad Company."

"'OFFICE UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY, W''NEW YORK, April 15, 1876.

"'DEAR SIR: I have your favor of the 18th instant, and in reply desire to say that I have this day written Colonel Thomas A. Scott, who was president of the Union Pacific company at the time of the transaction referred to, a letter of which I send a copy herewith. On receipt of this reply I will enclose it to you.

"Very respectfully,

" SIDNEY DILLON, President.

"'Hon. James G. Blaine,
"'Washington, D. C."

"'OFFICE OF THE UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD CO., NEW YORK, April 15, 1876.

"DEAR SIR: The press of the country are making allegations that certain bonds of the Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroad Company in 1871 were obtained from Hon. James G. Blaine, of Maine, or that the avails in

some form went to his benefit, and that the knowledge of those facts rests with the officers of the company and with yourself. These statements are injurious both to Mr. Blaine and to the Union Pacific Railroad Company. There were never any facts to warrant them, and I think that a statement to the public is due both from you and myself. I desire, as president of the company, to repel any such inference in the most emphatic manner, and would be glad to hear from you on the subject.

"'Very respectfully,

" 'SIDNEY DILLON, President.

"'COL. THOMAS A. SCOTT, Philadelphia, Pa."

"'OFFICE UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY, \
"'NEW YORK, April, 22, 1876.

"'DEAR SIR: As I advised you some days ago, I wrote Col. Thomas A. Scott and begged leave to enclose you his reply. I desire further to say that I was a director of the company and a member of the executive committee in 1871, and to add my testimony to that of Col. Scott in verification of all that he has stated in the enclosed letter.

" Truly yours,

" SIDNEY DILLON, President.

"Hon. James G. Blaine,
"Washington, D. C."

"'PHILADELPHIA, April 21, 1876.

"'MY DEAR SIR: I have your letter under date New York, April 15, 1876, stating that the press of the country are making allegations that certain bonds of the Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroad, purchased by the Union Pacific Railroad Company in 1871, were obtained from Hon. J. G. Blaine, of Maine, or that the avails in some form went to his benefit; that there never were any facts

to warrant them; that it is your desire as president of the company to repel any such inference in the most emphatic manner, and asking me to make a statement in regard to the matter.

"'In reply, I beg leave to say that much as I dislike the idea of entering into any of the controversies that are before the public in these days of scandal from which but a few men in public life seem to be exempt, I feel it my duty to state:

"That the Little Rock & Fort Smith bonds purchased by the Union Pacific Railroad Company in 1871, were not purchased or received from Mr. Blaine, directly or indirectly, and that of the money paid by the Union Pacific Railroad Company, or of the avails of said bonds, not one dollar went to Mr. Blaine or to any person for him, or for his benefit in any form.

"'All statements to the effect that Mr. Blaine ever had any transactions with me, directly or indirectly, involving money or valuables of any kind, are absolutely without foundation in fact.

"I take pleasure in making this statement to you, and you may use it in any manner you deem best for the interest of the Union Pacific Railroad Company.

"' Very truly yours,
"' THOMAS A. SCOTT.

"'SIDNEY DILLON, Esq., President,
"'Union Pacific Railroad Company, New York."

"Let me now, Mr. Speaker, briefly summarize what I presented: First, that the story of my receiving \$64,000 or any other sum of money, or anything of value from the Union Pacific Railroad Company, directly or indirectly, or in any form, is absolutely disproved by the most conclusive testimony. Second, that no bond of mine was

ever sold to the Atlantic & Pacific, or the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railroad Company, and that not a single dollar of money from either of these companies ever went to my profit or benefit. Third, that instead of receiving bonds of the Little Rock & Fort Smith road as a gratuity. I never had one except at the regular market price; and instead of making a large fortune off that company, I have incurred a severe pecuniary loss from my investment in its securities, which I still retain: and out of such affairs as these grows the popular gossip of large fortunes amassed in Congress. I can hardly expect, Mr. Speaker. that any statement from me will stop the work of those who have so industriously circulated these calumnies. For months past the effort has been energetic and continuous to spread these stories in private circles. Emissaries of slander have visited editorial rooms of leading Republican papers from Boston to Omaha, and whispered of revelations to come that were too terrible even to be spoken in loud tones, and at last, the revelations had been made. I am now, Mr. Speaker, in the fourteenth year of a not inactive service in this hall; I have taken and have given blows; I have no doubt said many things in the heat of debate that I would gladly recall; I have no doubt given votes which in fuller light I would gladly change: but I have never done anything in my public career for which I could be put to the fainest blush in any presence, or for which I cannot answer to my constituents, my conscience, and the Great Searcher of Hearts."

Comment upon this need not be made; but it is worth while to add, as an indication of public sentiment at the time, this fair and ample statement from Mr. George William Curtis. It appeared in *Harpers' Weekly*, May 13, 1876. Mr. Curtis wrote:

"In speaking of the railroad-bond scandal about Mr.

Blaine we said that at least it would be admitted that he had always shown himself acute enough to escape the traps into which the honest but dull will often fall. If high principle should be denied to him, and if, as is sometimes asserted, he is merely a politician, yet surely he is a politician of sagacity enough to know that, in public life, honesty, if nothing more, is certainly good policy. The substance of the charge against Mr. Blaine was that when he was Speaker of the House, and when Mr. Thomas Scott was president of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, he caused the company to buy bonds to the amount of \$75,000, which were almost worthless, for \$64,000, and the insinuation was that this was a bribe to secure the favor of Mr. Blaine for Mr. Scott's railway projects before Congress. Plainly stated, this was the charge. Of course, if believed it was fatal to Mr. Blaine; and at this time, when the public mind is very suspicious, the mere accusation was not unlikely to be of great injury to him. The story had been privately whispered, and there had been a conference of Republican editors at Cincinnati, which ended by acquainting him of the rumor. Suddenly it was made public in a Democratic paper at Indianapolis, and in other journals in other parts of the country. Then, of course, it was echoed and re-echoed through the whole press. Mr. Blaine instantly published an absolute and complete denial, and having collected evidence that is apparently conclusive, he made a brief, clear, simple statement in the House, which was as thorough a refutation as was ever made, and, in the absence of other evidence, leaves him unspotted.

"He showed by the testimony of the officers and bankers who had been cited as agents that he had never received from them, directly or indirectly, any money, as

charged. Mr. Scott, in the most explicit manner, declared that Mr. Blaine had never had any transaction whatever with him, directly or indirectly, involving money or valuables of any kind. The Treasurer of the road, Mr. E. H. Rollins, was equally precise and unqualified in his declaration, and Messrs. Morton, Bliss & Co., who were said to have been paid the money, said: 'Nothing has been paid by us, in any form or at any time, to any person or any corporation in which you were known, believed, or supposed to have any interest whatever.' Mr. Blaine states that he bought in 1869 some bonds of the Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroad, which derives its franchise and rights entirely from the State of Arkansas. He paid for his bonds the price that all buyers paid, and, with other buyers, he lost by them. His loss was more than \$20,000. All the bonds that he ever bought he held until the company was reorganized in 1874, when he exchanged them for stocks and bonds in the new concern, which he still holds. When the Atlantic & Pacific. and Missouri, Kansas & Texas roads bought some of the securities of the Little Rock road, Mr. Blaine knew of the negotiations, but none of the bonds sold to those roads belonged to him, nor did he have a single dollar's pecuniary interest in the transaction."

This was supposed, at the time, to have been a sufficient refutation of the charges, and would have been with a less distinguished personage or under circumstances which permitted only fair play to prevail. But on May 2d, 1876 the House passed a resolution of inquiry which, though glitteringly general, was aimed directly at Mr. Blaine. When he discovered this he took advantage of the first opportunity to explain and vindicate himself further, and no one, of unprejudiced mind, can fail to

admit that his reputation escaped without blemish. Again we use the Record and Mr. Blaine's own language:—

MR. BLAINE. "If the morning hour has expired, I will rise to a question of privilege."

THE SPEAKER pro tempore. "The morning hour has expired."

MR. BLAINE. "Mr. Speaker, on the second day of

May this resolution was passed by the House:

"" Whereas, it is publicly alleged, and is not denied by the officers of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, that that corporation did, in the year 1871 or 1872, become the owner of certain bonds of the Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroad Company, for which bonds the said Union Pacific Railroad Company paid a consideration largely in excess of their market or actual value, and that the board of directors of said Union Pacific Railroad Company, though urged, have neglected to investigate said transaction; therefore,

"Be it resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be instructed to inquire if any such transaction took place, and, if so, what were the circumstances or inducements thereto, from what person or persons said bonds were obtained and upon what consideration, and whether the transaction was from corrupt design or in furtherance of any corrupt object; and that the committee have power to send for persons and papers.'

"That resolution on its face and in its fair intent was obviously designed to find out whether any improper thing had been done by the Union Pacific Railroad Company; and of course, incidentally thereto, to find out with whom

the transaction was made.

"No sooner was the sub-committee designated than it became entirely obvious that the resolution was solely and only aimed at me. I think there had not been three questions asked until it was evident that the investigation was to be a personal one upon me, and that the Union Pacific Railroad, or any other incident of the transaction, was secondary, insignificant, and unimportant. I do not complain of that; I do not say that I had any reason to complain of it. If the investigation was to be made in that personal sense, I was ready to meet it.

"The gentleman on whose statement the accusation rested was first called. He stated what he knew from rumor. Then there were called Mr. Rollins, Mr. Morton, and Mr. Millard, from Omaha, a Government director of the Union Pacific road, and finally Thomas A. Scott. The testimony was completely and conclusively in disproof of the charge that there was any possibility that I could have had anything to do with the transaction. When the famous witness Mulligan came here loaded with information in regard to the Fort Smith road, the gentleman from Virginia drew out what he knew had no reference whatever to the question of investigation. He then and there insisted on all of my private memoranda being allowed to be exhibited by that man in reference to business that had no more connection, no more relation, no more to do with that investigation than with the North Pole.

"And the gentleman tried his best, also, though I believe that has been abandoned, to capture and use and control my private correspondence. This man has selected, out of correspondence running over a great many years, letters which he thought would be peculiarly damaging to me. He came here loaded with them. He came here for a sensation. He came here primed. He came here on that particular errand. I was advised of it, and I obtained those letters under circumstances which have been notoriously scattered over the United States, and are known to everybody. I have them. I claim that I have the entire

right to those letters, not only by natural right, but by all the principles and precedents of law, as the man who held those letters in possession held them wrongfully. The committee that attempted to take those letters from that man for use against me proceeded wrongfully. It proceeded in all boldness to a most defiant violation of the ordinary private and personal rights which belong to every American citizen. I wanted the gentleman from Kentucky and the gentleman from Virginia to introduce that question upon this floor, but they did not do it.

"I stood up and declined, not only on the conclusions of my own mind, but by eminent legal advice. I was standing behind the rights which belong to every American citizen, and if they wanted to treat the question in my person anywhere in the legislative halls or judicial halls, I was ready. Then there went forth everywhere the idea and impression that because I would not permit that man, or any man whom I could prevent from holding as a menace over my head my private correspondence. there must be in it something deadly and destructive to my reputation. I would like any gentleman to stand up here and tell me that he is willing and ready to have his private correspondence scanned over and made public for the last or eight ten years. I would like any gentleman to say that. Does it imply guilt? Does it imply wrongdoing? Does it imply any sense of weakness that a man will protect his private correspondence? No, sir; it is the first instinct to do it, and it is the last outrage upon any man to violate it.

"Now, Mr. Speaker, I say that I have defied the power of the House to compel me to produce these letters. I speak with all respect to this House. I know its powers, and I trust I respect them. But I say that this House has no more power to order what shall be done or not done with

my private correspondence, than it has with what I shall do in the nurture and education of my children, not a particle. The right is as sacred in the one case as it is in the other. But, sir, having vindicated that right, standing by it, ready to make any sacrifice in the defence of it, here and now if any gentleman wants to take issue with me on behalf of this House I am ready for any extremity of contest or conflict in behalf of so sacred a right. And while I am so, I am not afraid to show the letters. Thank God almighty, I am not ashamed to show them. There they are (holding up a package of letters). There is the very original package. And with some sense of humiliation, with a mortification I do not attempt to conceal, with a sense of the outrage which I think any man in my position would feel, I invite the confidence of forty-four millions of my countrymen, while I read those letters from this desk. [Applause.]

"The next letter to which I refer was dated Washington, District of Columbia, April 18, 1872. This is the letter in which Mulligan says and puts down in his abstract that I admitted the sixty-four thousand dollar sale of bonds."

"" WASHINGTON, D. C., April 18, 1872.

""My DEAR MR. FISHER: I answered you very hastily last evening, as you said you wished for an immediate reply, and perhaps in my hurry I did not make myself fully understood. You have been for some time laboring under a totally erroneous impression in regard to my results in the Fort Smith matter. The sales of bonds which you spoke of my making, and which you seem to have thought were for my own benefit, were entirely otherwise. I did not have the money in my possession

forty-eight hours, but paid it over directly to the parties whom I tried by every means in my power to protect from loss. I am very sure that you have little idea of the labors, the losses, the efforts and the sacrifices I have made within the past year to save those innocent persons, who invested on my request, from personal loss.

" And I say to you to-night that I am immeasurably worse off than if I had never touched the Fort Smith matter. The demand you make upon me now is one which I am entirely unable to comply with. I cannot do it. It is not in my power. You say that "necessity knows no law." That applies to me as well as to you, and when I have reached the point I am now at I simply fall back on the law. You are as well aware as I am that the bonds are due me under the contract. Could I have them I could adjust many matters not now in my power, and as long as this and other matters remain unadjusted between us I do not recognize the equity of the lawfulness of your calling on me for a partial settlement. I am ready at any moment to make a full, fair, comprehensive settlement with you on the most liberal terms. I will not be exacting or captious or critical, but am ready and eager to make a broad and generous adjustment with you, and if we can't agree ourselves, we can select a mutual friend who can easily compromise all points of difference between us.

"'You will, I trust, see that I am disposed to meet you in a spirit of friendly cordiality, and yet with a sense of self-defence that impels me to be frank and expose to you my pecuniary weakness.

"'With very kind regards to Mrs. Fisher, I am yours truly,

"'J. G. BLAINE.

[&]quot;W. FISHER, JR., Esq."

"I now pass to a letter dated Augusta, Me., October 4, 1869, but I read these letters now somewhat in their order. Now to this letter I ask the attention of the House. In the March session of 1869, the first one at which I was speaker, the extra session of the Forty-first Congress, a land grant in the State of Arkansas to the Little Rock road was reported. I never remember to have heard of the road, until at the last night of the session, when it was up here for consideration. The gentlemen in Boston with whom I had relations did not have anything to do with that road for nearly three or four months after that time. It is in the light of that statement that I desire that letter read.

"In the autumn, six or eight months afterward, I was looking over the Globe, probably with some curiosity, if not pride, to see the decisions I had made the first five weeks I was Speaker. I had not until then recalled this decision of mine, and when I came across, it all the facts came back to me fresh, and I wrote this letter:

(PERSONAL.)

" Augusta, Me., October 4, 1869.

"'MY DEAR SIR: I spoke to you a short time ago about a point of interest to your railroad company that occurred at the last session of the Congress.

"It was on the last night of the session, when the bill renewing the land grant to the State of Arkansas for the Little Rock road was reached, and Julian, of Indiana, Chairman of the Public Lands Committee, and, by right, entitled to the floor, attempted to put on the bill as an amendment, the Frémont El Paso schene—a scheme probably well-known to Caldwell. The House was

thin, and the lobby in the Frémont interest had the thing all set up, and Julian's amendment was likely to prevail if brought to a vote. Roots, and the other members from Arkansas, who were doing their best for their own bill (to which there seemed to be no objection), were in despair, for it was well known that the Senate was hostile to the Frémont scheme, and if the Arkansas bill had gone back to the Senate with Julian's amendments, the whole thing could have gone on the table and slept the sleep of death.

"'In this dilemma Roots came to me to know what on earth he could do under the rules; for he said it was vital to his constituents that the bill should pass. I told him that Julian's amendment was entirely out of order, because not germane; but he had not sufficient confidence in his own knowledge of the rules to make the point, but he said General Logan was opposed to the Frémont scheme and would probably make the point. I sent my page to General Logan with the suggestion, and he at once made the point. I could not do otherwise than sustain it, and so the bill was freed from the mischievous amendment moved by Julian, and at once passed without objection.

"At that time I had never seen Mr. Caldwell, but you can tell him that without knowing it I did him a great favor.

Sincerely yours,

". J. G. BLAINE.

"'W. FISHER, JR., ESQ.,
"'24 INDIA STREET, BOSTON.'

"The amendment referred to in that letter will be found in the *Congressional Globe* of the First Session of the Forty-first Congress, page 702. That was before the Boston persons had ever touched the road.

"There is mentioned in another letter \$6,000 of landgrant bonds of the Union Pacific Railroad for which I stood as only part owner; these were only in part mine. As I have started to make a personal explanation, I want to make a full explanation in regard to this matter. Those bonds were not mine except in this sense: In 1869, a lady who is a member of my family and whose financial affairs I have looked after for many years-many gentlemen will know to whom I refer without my being more explicit-bought on the recommendation of Mr. Hooper \$6,000 in land-grant bonds of the Union Pacific Railroad as they were issued in 1869. She got them on what was called the stockholder's basis; I think it was a very favorable basis on which they distributed these bonds. These \$6,000 of land-grant bonds were obtained in that way.

"In 1871 the Union Pacific Railroad Company broke down, and these bonds fell so that they were worth about forty cents on the dollar. She was anxious to make herself safe, and I had so much confidence in the Fort Smith land bonds that I proposed to her to make an exchange. The six bonds were in my possession, and I had previously advanced money to her for certain purposes and held a part of these bonds as security for that advance. The bonds in that sense, and in that sense only, were mine—that they were security for the loan which I had made. They were all literally hers; they were all sold finally for her account—not one of them for me. I make this statement in order to be perfectly fair.

"I have now read these fifteen letters, the whole of them, the House and the country now know all there is in them. They are dated and they correspond precisely with Mulligan's memorandum which I have here.

"I do not wish to detain the House, but I have one or two more observations to make. The specific charge that went to the committee as it affects me is whether I was a party in interest to the \$64,000 transaction; and I submit that up to this time there has not been one particle of proof before the committee sustaining that charge. Gentlemen have said that they heard somebody else say, and generally, when that somebody else was brought on the stand, it appeared that he did not say it at all. Colonel Thomas A. Scott swore very positively and distinctly, under the most rigid cross-examination, all about it. Let me call attention to that letter of mine which Mulligan says refers to that. I ask your attention, gentlemen, as closely as if you were a jury, while I show the absurdity of that statement. It is in evidence that, with the exception of a small fraction, the bonds which were sold to parties in Maine were first mortgage bonds. It is in evidence over and over again that the bonds which went to the Union Pacific road were land-grant bonds. Therefore it is a moral impossibility that the bonds taken up to Maine should have gone to the Union Pacific Railroad. They were of different series, different kinds, different colors, everything different, as different as if not issued within a thousand miles of each other. So on its face it is shown that it could not be so.

"There has not been, I say, one positive piece of testimony in any direction. They sent to Arkansas to get some hearsay about bonds. They sent to Boston to get some hearsay. Mulligan was contradicted by Fisher, and Atkins and Scott swore directly against him. Morton, of Morton, Bliss & Co., never heard my name in the matter. Carnegee, who negotiated the note, never heard my name in that connection. Rollins said it was one of the intangible rumors he spoke of as floating in the air. Gentle-

men who have lived any time in Washington need not be told that intangible rumors get very considerable circulation here; and if a man is to be held accountable before the bar of public opinion for intangible rumors, who in the House will stand?

"Now, gentlemen, those letters I have read were picked out of correspondence extending over fifteen years. The man did his worst, the very worst he could, out of the most intimate business correspondence of my life. I ask, gentlemen, if any of you, and I ask it with some feeling, can stand a severer scrutiny of, or more rigid investigation into, your private correspondence? That was the worst he could do.

"There is one piece of testimony wanting. There is but one thing to close the complete circle of evidence. There is but one witness whom I could not have, to whom the Judiciary Committee, taking into account the great and intimate connection he had with the transaction, was asked to send a cable despatch, and I ask the gentleman from Kentucky if that cable despatch was sent to him?

MR. FRYE. Who?

MR. BLAINE, To Josiah Caldwell.

MR. KNOTT. I will reply to the gentleman that Judge Hamton and myself have both endeavored to get Mr. Caldwell's address, and have not yet got it.

MR. BLAINE. Has the gentleman from Kentucky received a despatch from Mr. Caldwell?

MR. KNOTT. I will explain that directly.

MR. BLAINE. I want a categorical answer.

Mr. Knott. I have received a despatch purporting to be from Mr. Caldwell.

MR. BLAINE. You did?

MR. KNOTT. How did you know I got it?

MR. BLAINE. When did you get it? I want the gentleman from Kentucky to answer when he got it.

MR. KNOTT. Answer my question first.

MR. BLAINE. I never heard of it until yesterday.

MR. KNOTT. How did you hear it?

Mr. Blaine. I heard that you got a despatch last Thursday morning, at eight o'clock, from Josiah Caldwell, completely and absolutely exonerating me from this charge, and you have suppressed it. [Protracted applause upon the floor and in the galleries.] I want the gentleman to answer. [After a pause.] Does the gentleman from Kentucky decline to answer?

"The gentleman from Kentucky in responding probably, I think, from what he said, intended to convey the idea that I had some illegitimate knowledge of how that despatch was obtained. I have had no communication with Josiah Caldwell. I have had no means of knowing from the telegraph office whether the despatch was received. But I tell the gentleman from Kentucky that murder will out, and secrets will leak. And I tell the gentleman now, and I am prepared to state to this House, that at eight o'clock on last Thursday morning, or thereabouts, the gentleman from Kentucky received and receipted for a message addressed to him from Josiah Caldwell, in London, entirely corroborating and substantiating the statements of Thomas A. Scott which he had just read in the New York papers, and entirely exculpating me from the charge which I am bound to believe, from the suppression of that report, that the gentleman is anxious to fasten upon me." (Protracted applause from the floor and galleries.)

The reporter's interpolations give little idea of the enthusiasm with which this manly and straightforward statement was received, and the sensation of sympathy and approval which rang through the House when Mr. Blaine, at the close, advanced to the space in front of the clerk's desk and denounced Mr. Knott, is not to be rendered upon paper. It was agreed among those present that it was the most stirring scene which has taken place on the floor of Congress. The oldest representatives remembered nothing like it, and General Garfield said, "I have been a long time in Congress and never saw such a scene in the House; when the Emancipation amendment to the Constitution was adopted there was an exciting scene, but nothing like this. It seems to me that the Judiciary Committee has withheld important evidence which will be ruinous to them, and in any event the day has been a strong one for Blaine and his friends."

Men in the House of all parties, and of all shades of political opinion, agreed that Mr. Blaine's vindication was final, and the further action of the committee which had slandered him was work of supererogation.

It afterwards became a sort of malicious pastime for illy informed editors, buncombe stump speakers and characterless politicians to refer to this investigation as having injured Mr. Blaine, or with the hope that such reference might injure him, all the material facts having been forgotten and the records being far from reach. As an instance of this the mugwumpish Evening Post of New York gave a rehash of the charges in 1884, with a view to injuring his chances for the presidential nomination. In this instance, Hon. Wm. Walter Phelps, of New Jersey, replied to the Post in a masterly review of the situation, and so completely exposed its ignorance and malice as to set at rest, forever, all thought of guilty, or even imprudent conduct on the part of Mr. Blaine.

CHAPTER XIII.

IN THE SENATE.

On June 10, 1876, just four days before the meeting of the Republican National Convention at Cincinnati, the Governor of Maine appointed Mr. Blaine a United States Senator in place of Hon. Lot M. Morrill who had resigned to take the place of Secretary of the Treasury in President Grant's cabinet. He was, on the meeting of the Legislature, elected to fill Mr. Morrill's unexpired term, which ended March 4, 1877. At the opening of the second term of the Forty-fourth Congress, Dec. 4, 1876, he took his seat in the Senate chamber. In putting off the honors of a Congressional District to accept those of an entire State, he bade farewell to his immediate constituents in the following letter:

"Beginning with 1862 you have by continuous elections sent me as your representative to the Congress of the United States. For such marked confidence I have endeavored to return the most zealous and devoted service in my power, and it is certainly not without a feeling of pain that I now surrender a trust by which I have always felt so signally honored. It has been my boast in public and in private that no man on the floor of Congress ever represented a constituency more distinguished for intelligence, for patriotism, for public and personal virtue. The cordial support you have so uniformly given me through these fourteen eventful years is the chief honor of my life. In closing the intimate relations I have so long held with

the people of this district it is a great satisfaction to me to know that with returning health I shall enter upon a field of duty in which I can still serve them in common with the larger constituency of which they form a part."

The old Kennebec Journal, which had witnessed his entrance into editorial life, and whose pages had often been made to glow with his illuminating pen, returned as an answer from his constituents and the people of the entire State the following:

" Fourteen years ago, standing in the Convention at which he was first nominated, Mr. Blaine pledged himself to use his best services for the district, and to support to the best of his ability the policy of Abraham Lincoln to subdue the rebellion, and then and there expressed plainly the idea that slavery must and ought to be abolished to save the Union. That he has kept his pledge faithfully his constituents know and feel, and the records of Congress attest. To this district his abilities were freely given, and as he rose in honor in the House and in the public estimation he reflected honor and gave strength to the constituency that supported him. Every step he made in advance was a gain for them. It was a grand thing for this district to have as its Representative in Congress for six years the Speaker of the House, filling the place next in importance to that of President of the United States, with matchless ability. It was a grander thing when he took the lead of the minority in the House last December, routed the Democratic majority, and drove back in dismay the ex-Confederates who were intending and expecting through the advantage they had already gained to the supreme power in the nation and wield it in the est of the cause of secession and rebellion rev what he has done as their Representative never will this Third District of Maine for

name of James G. Blaine. It will live in the hearts of this people even as the name of Henry Clay is still loved

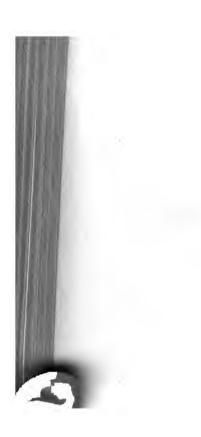
by the people of his old district in Kentucky."

Mr. Blaine's great prominence in public affairs, his identity and familiarity with leading political, financial and industrial questions, the conspicuous and trusted position he occupied in his party, made his transfer from the House to the Senate as easy as it was natural. In this body of men of greater age and dignity, and amid discussions supposably graver, more deliberate and more learned than those of the House, he was from the first a peer. Contrary to the traditions which gave a monopoly of the debates to the older members, he often came forward with his own original and electric views, to which as respectful a hearing was accorded as though he had been one of the oldest and most privileged members.

He was subsequently elected his own successor in the Senate for the term beginning March 4, 1877, and ending March 3, 1883. When the second session of the Fortyfourth Congress met, December 4, 1876, Mr. Blaine took his seat in the Senate Chamber. The question of the hour which dominated all others and occupied almost the entire time of the session was the disputed Electoral count. The inadequacy of all laws regulating the count of presidential electors was painfully manifest. country suddenly found itself on the verge of a crisis and a single false step might have precipitated an outbreak. All the passions of the presidential campaign were carried ver to the Congress. The Republicans claimed that the represedent of the Senate had, under the law, the sole right gence, to and announce the returns in the presence of the cordial sup The Democrats claimed that the two Houses these fourteel oint body could control the count under the In closing the intermocrats even went so far as to say that



NATIONAL CAPITAL, WASHINGTON, D. C.



the House alone could decide when an emergency had arrived in which it was to elect a President. was avoided by the patriotism of prominent members of both parties, who, after several conferences, agreed to report what became known as the "Electoral Commission Act." Mr. Blaine and some other prominent Republicans, notably Senator Morton, took strong ground against the They denied the right of Congress passage of this act. to endow the proposed Commission with power to determine the dispute, and insisted on due and orderly procedure under the law which, as popularly construed, gave the President of the Senate the right to open and announce the returns. Their logic was that of their party, but their method was different. In the end the Commission did just what they claimed the President of the Senate should have done. The Act passed, Jan. 29, 1877. The vote of the Senate upon it was forty-seven ayes to seventeen noes. Mr. Blaine voted with the noes. Of this forty-seven, twenty-one were Republicans and twenty-six Democrats, of the seventeen, sixteen were Republicans and one Democrat. It therefore came within one vote of a unanimous The Democratic Democratic support in the Senate. House passed it by a vote of 191 to eighty-six. created an Electoral Commission composed of five Representatives, five Senators and five Judges of the Supreme Court, each body to select its own representatives. Their decision was to be final unless overruled by both Houses. The decision of this Commission was that on all disputed returns the electoral vote as certified and sent to the So ate by the regularly constituted authorities in each St must be accepted as conclusive and beyond question This resulted i any authority outside of the State. choice of Hayes and Wheeler the Republican no for President and Vice President, and happily the

an emergency which was fraught with the gravest danger.

The political situation was shorn of much of its asperity by the pacific inaugural of President Hayes and his conciliatory visit to the Southern States. There was opportunity for the display of broad powers by statesmen like Mr. Blaine, and he entered upon a career in the Senate which was characterized by wonderful activity. learning and eloquence. During the extra session of the Forty-fifth Congress, called to meet Oct. 15, 1877. the Democrats made a most determined effort to repeal the Resumption Act. Party lines were closely drawn on the issue, and the Republican position was championed by Mr. Blaine and other leaders so effectually as to repel every attack upon it and prevent the designs of the Democrats. This extra session adjourned Dec. 3, 1877, to make way for the first regular session of the Congress.

From this time on until specie resumption became a fact, financial legislation occupied a conspicuous place in Congress and engaged the attention of business men and students everywhere. Again the Democrats endeavored to defeat the Resumption Act, but failed owing to the vigilant and able Republican majority in the Senate. But a bill looking to inflation, and regarded as alarming, yet one which did not draw strict party lines, came up for passage at an early period in the session and was passed. It was what became popularly known as the "Bland Silver Bill," which had for its object the remonetizing of silver coin, and which resulted in the piling up of millions of useless dollars in the Treasury, at the rate of \$2,000,-000 a month. The bill was passed and received the President's veto on Feb. 28, 1878. It became a law over the veto.

We have already learned enough of Mr. Blaine's financial record to anticipate his position on a bill of this character. The bill meant inflation, and that at a time most dangerous to the whole cause of resumption, fixed for the next year, and anxiously anticipated by all the financial and industrial classes. He opposed the bill in one of his most vigorous speeches, and especially that part of it which proposed to legalize a dishonest dollar. The matter of sound currency, an appreciating national credit, and specie resumption, as soon as time would permit, constantly invoked his vigilance, and he never let an opportunity pass to drive home his arguments in favor of solid money and an honorable financial policy. So, when this bill came up for consideration in the Senate sitting in Committee of the Whole, on Feb. 7, 1868, Mr. Blaine said :-

"Mr. President,—The discussion on the question of remonetizing silver has been prolonged and exhaustive. I may not expect to add much to its value, but I promise not to add much to its length. I shall endeavor to consider facts rather than theories, to state conclusions rather than arguments.

"I believe gold and silver coin to be the money of the Constitution—indeed, the money of the American people anterior to the Constitution, money which the organic law of the Republic recognized as independent of its own existence. No power was conferred on Congress to declare that either metal should not be money. Congress has therefore, in my judgment, no more power to demonetize silver than to demonetize gold; no more power to demonetize either than to demonetize both. In this statement I am but repeating the weighty dictum of the first of Constitutional lawyers. 'I am certainly of opinion,'

said Mr. Webster, 'that gold and silver, at rates fixed by Congress, constitute the legal standard of value in this country, and that neither Congress nor any State has authority to establish any other standard or to displace this standard.' Few persons can be found, I apprehend, who will maintain that Congress possesses the power to demonetize both gold and silver, or that Congress could be justified in prohibiting the coinage of both; and yet in logic and legal construction it would be difficult to show where and why the power of Congress over silver is greater than over gold-greater over either than over both. If, therefore, silver has been demonetized, I am in favor of remonetizing it. If its coinage has been prohibited, I am in favor of ordering it to be resumed. If it has been restricted, I am in favor of ordering it to be enlarged.

"What power, then, has Congress over gold and silver? It has the exclusive power to coin them; the exclusive power to regulate their value,-very great, very wise, very necessary powers, for the discreet exercise of which a critical occasion has now arisen. However men may differ about causes and processes, all will admit that within a few years a great disturbance has taken place in the relative values of gold and silver, and that silver is worth less or gold is worth more in the money markets of the world in 1878 than in 1873, when the further coinage of silver dollars was prohibited in this country. remonetize it now as though essential conditions had not changed, is willfully and blindly to deceive ourselves. If our demonetization were the only cause for the decline in the value of silver, then remonetization would be its proper and effectual cure. But other causes, beyond our control, have been far more potentially operative than the simple fact that Congress prohibited its further coinage.

As legislators we are bound to take cognizance of these causes. The demonetization of silver in the German Empire and the consequent partial, or well-nigh complete, suspension of coinage in the governments of the Latin Union, have been the leading causes for the rapid decline in the value of silver. I do not think the oversupply of silver has had, in comparison with these other causes, an appreciable influence in the decline of its value, because its over-supply with respect to gold in these later years has not been so great as was the over-supply of gold with respect to silver for many years after the mines of California and Australia were opened; and the over-supply of gold from those rich sources did not affect the relative positions and uses of the two metals in any European country.

"I believe then, if Germany were to remonetize silver and the kingdoms and states of the Latin Union were to re-open their mints, silver would at once resume its former relation with gold. The European countries when driven to full remonetization, as I believe they will be in the end, must of necessity adopt their old ratio of fifteen and a half of silver to one of gold, and we shall then be compelled to adopt the same instead of our former ratio of sixteen to one. If we fail to do this we shall, as before, lose our silver, which like all things else seeks the highest market; and if fifteen and a half pounds of silver will buy as much gold in Europe as sixteen pounds will buy in America, the silver, of course, will go to Europe. But our line of policy in a joint movement with other nations to remonetize is simple and direct. The difficult problem is what we shall do when we aim to re-establish silver without the co-operation of European powers, and really as an advance movement to coerce those powers into the same policy. Evidently the first dictate of prudence is

to coin such a dollar as will not only do justice among our citizens at home, but will prove a protection—an absolute barricade—against the gold mono-metallists of Europe, who, whenever the opportunity offers, will quickly draw from us the one hundred and sixty millions of gold coin which we now hold. If we coin a silver dollar of full legal-tender, obviously below the current value of the gold dollar, we are simply opening our doors and inviting Europe to take our gold. With our gold flowing out from us we shall be forced to the single silver standard and our relations with the leading commercial countries of the world will be not only embarrassed but crippled.

"The question before Congress then-sharply defined in the pending House bill-is, whether it is now safe and expedient to offer free coinage to the silver dollar of 412 1-2 grains, with the mints of the Latin Union closed and Germany not permitting silver to be coined as money. At current rates of silver, the free coinage of a dollar containing 412 1-2 grains, worth in gold about ninety-two cents, gives an illegitimate profit to the owner of the bullion, enabling him to take ninety-two cents' worth of it to the mint and get it stamped as coin and force his neighbor to take it for a full dollar. This is an unfair advantage which the Government has no right to give to the owner of silver bullion, and which defrauds the man who is forced to take the dollar. It assuredly follows that if we give free coinage to this dollar of inferior value and put it in circulation, we do so at the expense of our better coinage in gold; and unless we expect the invariable experience of other nations to be in some mysterious way suspended for our peculiar benefit, we inevitably lose our gold coin. It will flow out from us with the certainty and with the force of the tides. Gold has in-

deed remained with us in considerable amount during the circulation of the inferior currency of the legal tender; but that was because there were two great uses reserved by law for gold,—the collection of customs and the payment of interest on the public debt. But if the inferior silver coin is also to be used for these two reserved purposes, then gold has no tie to bind it to us. What gain, therefore, should we make for the circulating medium, if on opening the gate for silver to flow in, we open a still wider gate for gold to flow out? If I were to venture upon a dictum on the silver question, I should declare that until Europe remonetizes silver we cannot afford to coin a dollar as low as 412 1-2 grains. After Europe remonetizes on the old standard, we cannot afford to coin a dollar above 400 grains. If we coin too low a dollar before general remonetization our gold will leave us. If we coin too high a dollar after general remonetization our silver will leave us. It is only an equated value before and after general remonetization that will preserve both gold and silver to us.

"Consider further what injustice would be done to every holder of a legal-tender or national-bank note. That large volume of paper money—in excess of seven hundred millions of dollars—is now worth between ninety-eight and ninety-nine cents on the dollar in gold coin. The holders of it, who are indeed our entire population from the poorest to the richest, have been promised from the hour of its issue that their paper money would one day be as good as gold. To pay silver for the greenback is a full compliance with this promise and this obligation, provided the silver is made as it always has been hitherto, as good as gold. To make our silver coin even three per cent. less valuable than gold inflicts at once a loss of more than twenty millions of

dollars on the holders of our paper money. To make a silver dollar worth but ninety-two cents precipitates on the same class a loss of nearly sixty millions of dollars. For whatever the value of the silver dollar is, the whole paper issue of the country will sink to its standard when its coinage is authorized and its circulation becomes general in the channels of trade. Some one in conversation with Commodore Vanderbilt during one of the many freight competitions of the trunk lines said, 'It cannot be that the Canadian Railroad has sufficient carrying capacity to compete with your great line?'- 'That is true,' replied the Commodore, 'but they can fix a rate and force us down to it.' Were Congress to pass a law to-day declaring that every legal-tender note and every national bank note shall hereafter pass for only ninetysix or ninety-seven cents on the dollar, there is not a constituency in the United States that would re-elect a man who supported it, and in many districts the representative would be lucky if he escaped merely with a defeat at the polls.

"Yet is is almost mathematically demonstrable that the same effect will follow from the coinage of an inferior silver dollar. Assurances from empirics and scientists in finances that remonetization of the former dollar will at once and permanently advance its value to par with gold, are worth little in the face of opposing and controlling facts. The first effect of issuing any silver dollar that will pay custom dues and interest on the public debt, will undoubtedly be to raise it to a practical equality with gold; but that condition will last only until the amount needful for customs shall fill the channels of its use and the overflow going into general circulation will rapidly settle to its normal and actual value, and then the discount will come on the volume of the paper currency,

which will sink, pari passu, with the silver dollar in which it is made redeemable. That remonetization will have a considerable effect in advancing the value of the silver dollar is very probable, but not enough to overcome the difference now existing,—a difference resulting from causes independent of our control in the United States.

"The responsibility of re-establishing silver in its ancient and honorable place as money in Europe and America, devolves really upon the Congress of the United States. If we act here with wisdom and firmness, we shall not only successfully remonetize silver, and bring it into general use as money in our own country, but the influence of our example will be potential among European nations, with the possible exception of England. Indeed, our annual indebtment to Europe is so great that, if we have the right to pay it in silver, we necessarily coerce those nations, by the strongest of all forces, selfinterest, to aid us in upholding the value of silver as money. But if we attempt the remonetization on a basis which is obviously below the fair standard of value as it now exists, we incur all the evil consequences of failure at home, and the certainty of successful opposition abroad. We are, and shall be, the greatest producers of silver in the world, and we have a larger stake in its complete monetization than any other country. The difference to the United States, between the general acceptance and the general destruction of silver as money in the commercial world, will possibly within the next halfcentury equal the entire bonded debt of the Nation. But, to gain this advantage, we must make it actual money, the accepted equal of gold in the markets of the world. Remonetization here, followed by general remonetization in Europe, will secure to the United States the most stable basis for its currency that we have ever

Hamilton argues at length in favor of a double standard, and all the subsequent experience of ninety years has brought out no clearer statement of the case, or developed a more complete comprehension of this subtle and difficult subject. 'On the whole,' says Mr. Hamilton, 'it seems most advisable not to attach the unit exclusively to either of the metals, because this cannot be done effectually without destroying the office and character of them as money, and reducing it to the situation of mere merchandise." Mr. Hamilton wisely concludes that this reduction of either of the metals to mere merchandise (I again quote his exact words) "would probably be a greater evil than occasional variations in the unit from the fluctuations in the relative value of the metals, especially if care be taken to regulate the proportion between them, with an eye to their average commercial value.' I do not think that this country, holding so vast a proportion of the world's supply of silver in its mountains and its mines, can afford to reduce the metal to the 'situation of mere merchandise.' If silver ceases to be used as money in Europe and America, the mines of the Pacific slope will be closed and dead. Mining enterprises of the gigantic scale existing in this country cannot be carried on to provide backs for mirrors, and to manufacture cream-pitchers and sugar-bowls. A source of incalculable wealth to this entire country is destroyed the moment silver is permanently disused as money. It is for us to check that tendency, and bring the continent of Europe back to the full recognition of the value of the metal as a medium of exchange.

"The question of beginning anew the coinage of silver dollars has aroused much discussion as to its effect on the public credit. The senator from Ohio [Mr. Matthews] placed this phase of the subject in the very forefront of

"But I must say, Mr. President, that the specific demand for the payment of our bonds in gold coin, and in nothing else, comes with an ill grace from certain quarters. European criticism is leveled against us, and hard names are hurled at us across the ocean, for simply daring to state that the letter of our law declares the bonds to be payable in standard coin of July 14, 1870; explicitly declared so, and declared so in the interest of the public creditor, and the declaration inserted in the very body of the eight hundred millions of bonds that have been issued since that date. Beyond all doubt, the silver dollar was included in the standard coins of that public act. Payment at that time would have been as acceptable and as undisputed in silver as in gold dollars, for both were equally valuable in the European as well as in the American market. Seven-eights of all our bonds owned out of the country are held in Germany and in Holland. Germany has demonetized silver, and Holland has been forced thereby to suspend its coinage, since the subjects of both powers purchased our securities. The German Empire, the very year after we made our specific declaration for paying our bonds in coin, passed a law destroying, so far as lay in its power, the value of silver as money. I do not say that it was specially aimed at this country, but it was passed regardless of its effect upon us, and was followed, according to the public and undenied statement, by a large investment on the part of the German Government in our bonds, with a view, it was understood, of holding them as a coin reserve for drawing gold from us to aid in establishing their new gold standard at home. Thus, by one move the German Government destroyed, so far as lay in its power, the then existing value of silver as money, enhanced consequently the value of gold, and then got into position to draw gold

from us at the moment of their need, which would also be the moment of our own sorest distress. I do not say that the German Government, in these successive steps, did a single thing which it had not a perfect right to do, but I do say that the subjects of that Empire have no reason to complain of our Government for the initial step which has impaired the value of one of our standard coins. The German Government, by joining with us in the remonetization of silver, can place that standard coin in its old position, and make it as easy for this Government to pay and as profitable for their subjects to receive the one metal as the other.

"When we pledged the public creditor in 1870 that our obligations should be paid in the standard coin of that date, silver bullion was worth in the London market a fraction over sixty pence per ounce; its average for the past eight months has been about fifty-four pence; the price reckoned in gold in both cases. But the large difference is due in part to the rise of gold as well as to the fall of silver. Allowing for both causes and dividing the difference, it will be found, in the judgment of many of the wisest men in this country, perfectly safe to issue a dollar of 425 grains standard silver; as one that, anticipating the full and legitimate influence of remonetization, will equate itself with the gold dollar, and effectually guard against the drain of our gold during the time necessary for international conference in regard to the general re-establishment of silver as money. When that general re-establishment shall be effected with a coinage of fewer grains, the dollar which I am now advocating will not cause loss or embarrassment to any one. The miner of the ore, the owner of the bullion, the holder of the coin, and the Government that issues it, will all in turn be benefited. It will yield a profit on recoinage and

will be advantageously employed in our commercial relations with foreign countries. Meanwhile it will insure to our laborers at home a full dollar's pay for a dollar's worth of work.

"I think we owe this to the American laborer. Ever since we demonetized the old dollar we have been running our mints at full speed, coining a new silver dollar for the use of the Chinese cooly and the Indian pariah-a dollar containing 420 grains of standard silver, with its superiority over our ancient dollar ostentatiously engraved on its reverse side. To these 'outside barbarians' we send this superior dollar, bearing all our national emblems, our patriotic devices, our pious inscriptions, our goddess of liberty, our defiant eagle, our federal unity, our trust in God. This dollar contains 7 1-2 grains more silver than the famous 'dollar of the fathers,' proposed to be recoined by the pending bill, and more than four times as many of these new dollars have already been coined as ever were coined of all other silver dollars in the United States. In the exceptional and abnormal condition of the silver market now existing throughout the world we have felt compelled to increase the weight of the dollar with which we carry on trade with the heathen nations of Asia. Shall we do less for the American laborer at home? Nay, shall we not do a little better and a little more for those of our own blood and our own fireside? If you remonetize the dollar of the fathers your mints will be at once put to work on two different dollars, -different in weight, different in value, different in prestige, different in their reputation and currency throughout the commercial world. It will read strangely in history that the weightier and more valuable of these dollars is made for an ignorant class of heathen laborers in China and India, and that the lighter and less valuable is made for the intelligent and educated laboring-man who is a citizen of the United States. Charity, the adage says, begins at home. Charity, the independent American laborer scorns to ask, but he has the right to demand that justice should begin at home. In his name and in the name of common sense and common honesty, I ask that the American Congress will not force upon the American laborer an inferior dollar which the naked and famishing laborers of India and China refuse to accept.

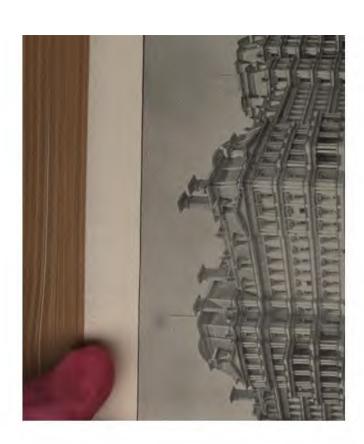
"The bill which I now offer as a substitute for the House bill contains three very simple provisions:

1. That the dollar shall contain four hundred and twenty-five grains of standard silver, shall have unlimited coinage, and be an unlimited legal tender.

2. That all the profits of coinage shall go to the Government, and not to the operator in silver bullion.

3. That silver dollars or silver bullion, assayed and mint-stamped, may be deposited with the Assistant Treasurer at New York, for which coin certificates may be issued, the same in denomination as United States notes, not below ten dollars, and that these shall be redeemable on demand in coin or bullion. We shall thus secure a paper circulation based on an actual deposit of precious metal, giving us notes as valuable as those of the Bank of England and doing away at once with the dreaded inconvenience of silver on account of bulk and weight.

"I do not fail, Mr. President, to recognize that the committals and avowals of senators on this question, preclude the hope of by substitute being adopted. I do not indeed fail to recognize that on this question I am not in line with either extreme,—with those who believe in the single gold standard or with those who by premature and unwise action, as I must regard it, would force us to the single silver standard. Either will be found, in my judg-



ment, a great misfortune to our country. We need both gold and silver, and we can have both only by making each the equal of the other. It would not be difficult to show that, in the nations where they both have been fully recognized and most widely diffused, the steadiest and most continuous prosperity has been enjoyed,-that true form of prosperity which reaches all classes, but which begins with the day-laborer whose toil lays the foundation of the whole superstructure of wealth. The exclusively gold nation like England may show the most massive fortunes in the ruling classes, but it shows also the most helpless and hopeless poverty in the humbler walks of life. The gold and silver nation like France can exhibit no such individual fortunes as abound in a gold nation like England, but it has a peasantry whose silver savings can pay a war indemnity that would have beggared the gold bankers of London, and to which the peasantry of England could not have contributed a pound sterling in gold or even a shilling in silver.

"The effect of paying the labor of this country in silver coin of full value, as compared with irredeemable paper,—or as compared, even, with silver of inferior value,—will make itself felt in a single generation to the extent of tens of millions—perhaps hundreds of millions—in the aggregate savings which represent consolidated capital. It is the instinct of man from the savage to the scholar—developed in childhood and remaining with age—to value the metals which in all lands are counted 'precious.' Excessive paper money leads to extravagance, to waste, to want, as we painfully witness to-day. With abounding proof of its demoralizing and destructive effect, we hear it proclaimed in the Halls of Congress, that 'the people demand cheap money.' I deny it. I declare such a phrase to be a total misapprehension—a total misinter-

pretation of the popular wish. The people do not demand cheap money. They demand an abundance of good money, which is an entirely different thing. They do not want a single gold standard that will exclude silver and benefit those already rich. They do not want an inferior silver standard that will drive out gold and not help those already poor. They want both metals, in full value, in equal honor, in whatever abundance the bountiful earth will yield them to the searching eye of science and to the hard hand of labor.

"The two metals have existed side by side in harmonious, honorable companionship as money, ever since intelligent trade was known among men. It is well-nigh forty centuries since 'Abraham weighed to Ephron the silver, which he had named in the audience of the sons of Heth. four hundred shekels of silver, current money with the merchant.' Since that time nations have risen and fallen. races have disappeared, dialects and languages have been forgotten, arts have been lost, treasures have perished, continents have been discovered, islands have been sunk in the sea, and through all these ages and through all these changes, silver and gold have reigned supreme as the representatives of value—as the media of exchange. The dethronement of each has been attempted in turn, and sometimes the dethronement of both; but always in vain! And we are here to-day, deliberating anew over the problem which comes down to us from Abraham's time-the weight of the silver that shall be 'current money with the merchant."

On Feb. 26, 1878, Mr. Blaine introduced a resolution calling for papers and information respecting the "Halifax Award." This award, amounting to a million dollars annually for a term of years, was the amount which an international commission had decided that the United States

should pay to Great Britain for certain fishing privileges on the Newfoundland coast. Mr. Blaine accompanied his resolution with an able speech in which he showed the unfairness of the amount awarded, and took the ground that there was no legal obligation to pay any of it because the award had not been signed by all the commissioners. His speech on this occasion was regarded as a particularly happy one, especially by those persons in the New England States who took a deep interest in the fishery question.

In the Senate, as in the House, Mr. Blaine proved to be a strong advocate and watchful guardian of the principles which supported the "Protective System." This case he exemplified in April 1878, when the opponents of a protective tariff were making a determined move toward the modification, or repeal, of existing acts. On the 22d of the month he introduced the following resolution:—

Resolved, That any radical change in our present tariff laws would, in the judgment of the Senate, be inopportune, would needlessly derange the business interests of the country, and would seriously retard that return to prosperity for which all should earnestly co-operate.

Resolved, That in the judgment of the Senate, it should be the fixed policy of this government to so maintain our tariff for revenue as to afford adequate protection to American labor.

On May 1st he called up his resolutions and proceeded to advocate their passage in an eloquent and pointed speech. They failed of passage at the time, but Mr. Blaine's effort proved none the less valuable as awakening the country to the dangers which lurked continually in Democratic attempts to undermine our industrial and economic system. On the 5th of June, 1878, Mr. Blaine addressed the Senate in favor of extending government aid toward establishing a steam-ship line between the United States and Brazil. This speech is not more valuable as a contribution to the literature of an important and rapidly growing theme than as foreshadowing a line of thought which Mr. Blaine pursued unflagingly, and finally elaborated until he saw it embraced by all the leading nations of the American continent. It was an intensely national speech, able, foresighted, and a fitting prelude to the great idea of "Reciprocity" which afterward became inseparably linked with his name.

On that occasion he said:

"MR. PRESIDENT,-This discussion is taking a much wider range than the simple granting of a subsidy to Mr. John Roach, as the senator from Michigan [Mr. Christiancy] seems to suppose. The last phase of the question propounded by the senator from Kentucky in an amendment, which is now being printed I believe, declares that hereafter ships of foreign construction shall be imported free into the United States and be entitled to American registry. From a variety of indications which I have observed in Congress, at both ends of the Capitol, for the last three or four years, it is soon, I think, to become a practical question, to be submitted to the test of legislative judgment whether on the whole we shall maintain our navigation laws, or whether, after having stood by them for eighty years, we shall conclude now to surrender them and become tributary to Great Britain. In plain truth that is what the amendment of the senator from Kentucky means. It means that with all our wealth, with all our advancement in skill and capital and prestige and power, here in the last quarter of the nineteenth century

we shall confess ourselves incompetent to do what the founders of the Government considered themselves able to accomplish in the days of our National infancy.

"It is an instructive lesson that the first Congress which assembled under the Federal Constitution, when the population of this country was short of four millions, when our coast line began at the eastern end of the District of Maine and was limited by the southern end of Georgia, when we did not touch the Gulf of Mexico and did not even dream of the Pacific Ocean, when we could not manufacture the tools necessary to build a ship, when all things in the shape of mechanical contrivance and adaptation were in their veriest infancy in this country, that the wise founders of our Government decreed in the navigation laws, which have stood from that day to this, that we would lay the foundations of a great naval and commercial power. The men of that day knew that we never could have a naval or commercial power unless we could secure the skill and the art of the ship-builder at home. Our fathers ordained to this end two great things: in the first place, that no ship but one built and owned by Americans should ever engage in the coastwise trade of the United States; that this privilege should be for our own citizens absolutely and exclusively and for all time; and, in the second place, that as respected the foreign trade, no ship should float the American flag or have an American register that was not built and owned in the United States.

"Gentlemen think this policy was a failure. The senator from Kentucky [Mr. Beck] has talked heretofore, and his amendment now speaks more plainly than his words, to the effect that this policy has been a failure. Let us see for a moment what ground there is for his conclusion. Down to the time of the rebellion, measuring seventy years from the foundation of the Government, we had been steadily gaining in the commercial contest with Great Britain, until in the year 1857 we stood abreast of her in ocean tonnage. More than that. In the year 1857 our foreign commerce amounted to a little over \$700,000,000, counting both ways, imports and exports, and American vessels carried \$500,000,000 of it, and vessels of all nations carried but a shade over \$200,000,000 of it. Twenty years afterward, taking the statistics of 1877, what is the lamentable picture that is shown us? Our foreign commerce has increased to between eleven and twelve hundred millions annually, and the American vessels carry less than \$300,000,000 of it, while vessels of foreign nationalities carry over \$800,000,000 of it.

"I maintain, sir, that if our Government had not met with the incalculable obstruction that was thrown against us by the war, and had been willing to uphold her shipping as stiffly as Great Britain has upheld hers on all the lines of commerce, we should have outrun her. We had outrun her in sailing-vessels. We were ahead of her or at least equal to her in 1857. If I remember the figures aright, the tonnage stood about 5,700,000 tons for each country, and I grieve to say that it is over eight millions for Great Britain and only three millions for America today. We may stand here and talk about the wrongfulness of subsidies and the impolicy of granting them until doomsday; and Great Britain will applaud every speech of that kind made in the American Congress, and will quietly subsidize her steamers and take possession of the carrying-trade of the world. Great Britain to-day makes annually out of the commerce of the United States a larger sum than the interest on our public debt. She recieves more in the way of net profits on the carrying trade which America gives her, than the interest on the vast national debt with which we are burdened to-day. I submit this statement as a statistical fact capable of being illustrated and proved.

"Let me now recount a few facts that in this connection are valuable; namely, that in the last six years, including 1877, Brazil exported five hundred and forty million dollars' worth of merchandise. How much did we take of it? We took two hundred and fifty millions of it. We took almost half. Brazil imported nearly the same amount that she exported—about ninety million a year out and in. How much did we send to Brazil in those six years? In the entire six years we sent forty-two million dollars' worth. They do not really know in Brazil what we have to sell and what we are able to manafacture and offer them.

"The senator from New York labored to show the other day that we had failed under what was called the Garrison subsidy. The Garrison Company ran a line of steamers to Rio, which in the first place was not a first-class one, not a line that was in any degree a competing line with the British and French. Nobody wanted to embark on them when they were lying side by side with the British steamers in the port of Rio Janeiro. This is a fact which the Senate ought not to forget: that the line was started at the close of the war, when the prices of all our manufactured articles were very high, and we could not export fabrics of any kind.

MR. EATON. If my friend will permit me, I would remind him that half the butter and cheese Brazil imports (every pound of which we can furnish from Ohio alone), nearly all the boots and shoes, which can be furnished by Massachusetts, and nearly all the agricultural implements went from Great Britain.

MR. BLAINE, I thank my friend from Connecticut for

calling my attention to the fact. I was coming to some details of that kind. I was pointing out, though, that the ten years of the Garrison subsidy were years of remarkably high prices in the United States, so that we were in no condition to be an exporting nation. The fall in prices in this country within the last five years, however, has been most extraordinary, quite as extraordinary as the previous rise, and on a very large number of articles we are able not only to compete fairly, but to undersell other nations. But the pressing question is, how can you bring seller and buyer together? To apply the homely phrase, the first thing you must do to induce a man to trade with you is, get him in your store. This applies to a nation as well as to a country merchant. You must do that before you can sell him anything. He is not going to buy when he is on the other side of a ten-acre lot or in the next township.

"The merchants on the River La Plata and in Rio Janeiro and all over the kingdom of Brazil desire a speedy and comfortable way of reaching the United States. Today all the desirable lines of travel that run from the city of Rio Janeiro run to Europe, and the steamers that run there are just as good as the steamers that run from New York to Europe; and, of course, the merchants and travelers will go in that direction. This little bit of a Merchants' line between New York and Rio Janeiro runs vessels in which nobody would wish to go to sea. It is not a comfortable vessel, aside from any peril that may be involved in going to sea in a nine hundred-ton ship. It is a very different thing to go to sea in a three or four thousand ton ship. It is the difference between riding on land in a freight-car and in a Pullman palace-car. When they present that as the competing line, it is simply to shut us out of Brazil and keep Brazilians from coming to us. The very first thing to connect us in any commercial relations

whatever with Brazil is to enable Brazilians to come here, and to come here with comfort, to make a journey both of pleasure and of business. They go by the thousands and the tens of thousands to Europe, and they will continue to go there just as long as there is no opportunity to come this way with equal speed and comfort.

"Mr. President, there is not a more enlightened sovereign in the world than the eminent man who governs Brazil to-day. He is an imperial democrat or a democratic emperor, whichever you choose to call him. He is thoroughly devoted to the interests of his people. He illustrated in his last journey over the world the fabled tour of Peter the Great in the seventeenth century, going into the ship-yards and dock-yards and factories to find out how everything was done. He came here; he went over this country, I venture to say, in a much more thorough manner than any gentleman on this floor has ever done. I venture to say that Dom Pedro can tell more-I do not know about the individual localities which we all know about-but taking the country as a whole, I venture to say that the imperial head of that government can tell more about the United States from personal observation than any senator on this floor. He went back profoundly impressed with the idea that Brazil had been made altogether too much a tale to the kite of the European monopolists, and that Brazilians had never had an oportunity to enter into the markets of the United States. He found that he was selling nearly half of all that he had to sell from his empire to this country, and almost literally buying nothing from us; and he said the very first thought that struck him was, 'There is no way of coming to your country; we cannot get to you. We may come up to Carthagena and ship there, and come over to Havana and ship there, and thus get to New York." That will take five or six weeks. There is occasionally a stray steamer that runs, but it cannot be depended on. The first thing therefore to be done in order to establish trade between this country and Brazil, as that wise Emperor said, is to establish a good line of communication between the two.

"The Emperor while he was in the United States met John Roach. He conversed on this subject with Mr. Roach just as he stood in his own ship-yard in the active discharge of his daily business. He measured his intelligence and his energy. After the Emperor had returned to his dominions Mr. Roach sent an agent to Rio Janerio. He found the Emperor still zealous and eager for the line of steamers. His Majesty's Government contracted with Mr. Roach to put on a line of first-class steamers between Rio and New York that people might go back and forth, that mail matter might go back and forth freely, that there should be luxurious accommodations if they chose to pay for them, and ample accommodations for all those who chose to avail themselves of them; and the Emperor of Brazil did that in the undoubted belief that America would respond with at least equal liberality. He made the tender. He said, 'We need to come closer together; we cannot get to each other now; let us build up a line of first-class steamships, and I will pay half.' That is the plain truth of it: 'I will pay half if you will pay the other half. Let us try it and see what will come of it.' Forthwith, as one of the results of it, a meeting was held in the city of New York, in the expectation that this line would be established, and merchants and manufacturers have taken the preliminary steps to establish a magazine in Rio in which every variety of American fabric shall be exhibited--our textiles, our metals, our products of all

kinds—that a great American bazaar shall be opened there in which everything we have to sell shall be exhibited with the price attached, and the advantages of shipments shall be made known to all buyers.

"This may be an unwise waste of money. I do not myself think so. It may be a very wise thing for us to fold our hands and say to Great Britain, 'Take the seas; they are yours. To be sure we have seventeen thousand miles of coast running from Behring's Straits down to the Gulf of California; we take in all the Gulf of Mexico, all the North Atlantic. We have timber, lumber, hemp, and iron, and every possible material that can make ships, but we are not equal to it. You must come forward and do our carrying-trade.' That is what England is contending for to day. She does not intend that any European nation shall ever become a great naval and commercial power.

"There is no rival left to her in the commercial world, and if she can buy us out, or bully us out of a tariff that shall protect American industries, and bluff us out of enterprises that shall stimulate lines of American steamships, she will have done all she desires to do for her factories and for her commerce.

"The honorable senator from Maryland said that every one of these attempts to build up commerce by means of subsidies had been utter and ignominious failures, and he cited especially the Pacific mail, out of which there grew much scandal. The senator from California [Mr. Sargent], in the very debate of last year, in which my honorable friend from Michigan was willing to give half a million for old and inferior ships, while he is not willing now to give one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for a line of new and superior steamships, said, and I quote this for the benefit off the senator from Maryland,—

"We have now to a very great extent, by means of this policy pursued by the Government, control of the commerce of the Pacific Ocean. The Atlantic is an English or European lake, and nothing more. We scarcely venture out upon it with our own American lines. The case, however, is reversed in regard to the Pacific, and there the enterprise of our people, aided in this manner by our Government, has been able to seize upon the prominent lines of communication, and commerce is extended there on every hand. We have nearly as much control of the Pacific as England or any European power has of the Atlantic. The statistics show that there has been an increase of duties paid into the Treasury of the United States on account of the commerce built up by the Chinese mail-line greater by a million and a half of dollars than the amount of subsidy which has been paid out by the Government to aid in maintaining that line. The Government has made money by it."

"Even with all the mishaps and scandals which attached to that unfortunate line, so great has been its success, that it has given to us the lead in the commerce of the Pacific and has yielded back a larger revenue, aside from the indirect benefits, than the sum paid out of the Treasury of the United States to maintain the line.

MR. WHYTE. May I ask the senator from Maine—MR. BLAINE. Ask the senator from California.

MR. WHYTE. No, I will ask the senator from Maine. He is addressing me, and in reply I will ask him the question whether the building of the Pacific Railroad has not increased the duties rather than the Pacific mail-line?

MR. BLAINE. That duties were not increased on the Atlantic side. That very same question was asked the senator from California at the time by the senator from Vermont [Mr. Morrill], and the senator from California answered that there was no corresponding decrease to be shown here. The senator means, I suppose, that it merely transferred the point of collection; but there was no corresponding decrease anywhere, and more than that, as the senator from California intimated—I am really borrowing his argument—the effect was largely to decrease—decrease indeed by a million dollars—the cost of tea to the consumers in this country.

"I do not come from a steamship State. I come from a State that builds wooden ships and has sold them and will continue to do it, for the day of wooden ships has not gone by; they will remain for long voyages and for freights whose value is not dependent upon a particular date of delivery. They will remain I suppose as long as the tides rise and the winds blow. In that field the State I represent is without any rival in this country to-day. But is this country willing calmly to resign the sceptre of the ocean to Great Britain? Are we not ready to make one struggle, not for the North Atlantic—that is so entirely possessed by others that we are crowded out of it—but a struggle to hold, at all events, some sort of tenure of the trade in South America and on the Pacific Ocean?

"I shall vote for this bill. I did not vote for the bill of last winter. I did not think it was a wise bill. I differed from my friend from Michigan, and I especially differed from my honored colleague from whom I rarely part, and when I do, always with the impression that I may be in the wrong; but for this bill, which offers more and asks less than any other subsidy that has ever been proposed in this country, I shall most cheerfully give my vote.

"One word more. I always think, in homely phrase, that it is wise and safe to do the thing which your rival does not want you to do. I am sure that you could get a

unanimous vote in the British House of Commons against the grant of this aid by the American Congress. I am sure that a policy for which the British House of Commons would vote unanimously, it is not for the interest of the American Government to uphold."

During this first session of the Forty-fifth Congress, which adjourned June 20, 1878, Mr. Blaine left a deep impress on national legislation. His mental equipment was so magnificent that there were few important themes he did not illuminate, and in the high art of state-craft he towered among the giants of the Senate Chamber. After the session adjourned he was no less laborious and conspicuous in the field of citizenship. On Sept. 3, 1878, he delivered an eloquent and instructive oration before the Minneapolis Fair, in which he reviewed the history of the Northwest and spoke in glowing terms of its rapid industrial growth and immense resources. In his concluding remarks he said:—

"To trace the history and development of Minnesota from its organization in 1849 would far transcend the proprieties or even the possibilities of this occasion. But whoever will enter into the details of the progress here made will find one of the most remarkable advances of civilization, and in a period so brief that it does not comprehend the life of one generation. In 1849 your Territory contained but forty-six hundred inhabitants; to-day your State has seven hundred thousand. In 1849 you raised fourteen hundred bushels of wheat; last year you raised thirty-three million bushels. These figures are but an index to your increase in all forms of material wealth. The pages of your census tables seem like a romance, the statistics of your progress dazzle the reader with their proportions and almost challenge his credulity at every column.

"I am addressing an agricultural community. During all the depression of trade and commerce and manufactures in these past five years, you have steadily advanced in comfort and independence. While thousands elsewhere have lacked employment, and many, I fear, have lacked bread, no able-bodied man in Minnesota has been without remunerative labor and no one has gone to bed hungry. Your pursuits and their results form the basis of the ideal Republic-happily realized within your own borders. The tendency of all your industry is toward the accumulation of individual competency, and does not favor the upbuilding of colossal fortunes. You are dealing daily with the essential things of life, and are not warped in your judgment or deflected from your course by speculative and illusory schemes of gain. You are land-owners, free-holders, proud titles that come to us with centuries of civilization and strength-titles that every man in this country should make it his object to acquire and to honor. Self-government among the owners of the soil in America is an instinct, and where that ownership is widely distributed good government is the rule. Whatever disturbances therefore may threaten the peace and order of society, whatever wild theories, transplanted from other climes, may seek foot-hold here, the Republic of the United States rests securely on that basis of agriculture where the farmers of the Revolution and the framers of the Constitution placed it. The man who possesses broad acres which he has earned by the sweat of his own face, is not apt to fall in with the doctrine of the Communist, that no one has a right to ownership in the soil. The man who has the product of his labor in wheat and in corn, in pork and in beef, in hides and in wool-commanding gold and silver as they always have done and always will do in the markets of the world—is not to be led astray with theories of fiat paper and absolute money, but instinctively consigns such wild vagaries to the appropriate domain of fiat folly and absolute nonsense.

"The farmers of the Republic will control its destiny. Agriculture, commerce and manufactures are the three pursuits that enrich a nation—but the greatest of these is agriculture-for without its products the spindle cannot turn and the ship will not sail. Agriculture furnishes the conservative element in society and in the end is the guiding, restraining, controlling force in government. Against storms of popular fury; against frenzied madness that seeks collision with established order; against theories of administration that have drenched other lands in blood; against the spirit of anarchy that would sweep away the landmarks and safeguards of Christian society and Republican government, the farmers of the United States will stand as the shield and the bulwark -themselves the willing subjects of law and therefore its safest and strongest administrators.

"Gradually the Government of the Republic is passing under the control of the farmers of the Mississippi valley. Indeed it is practically there to-day. The swelling and on-rushing tide of population is towards the broad plains and the rich acres that lie between the two mountain ranges of the continent. The soil is so fertile, the land so inviting, the area so broad, that no man may dare calculate the possibilities of this great region either as respects production or population. Your own State, peopled no more densely than New York, would have a population of nine millions; peopled as densely as Massachusetts, it would have a population of sixteen millions. With the transfer of political control from the old States to the new, there is also transferred a vast weight of

responsibility. It is yours to-day; it will be yours still more to-morrow. Take it; use it wisely and well for the advancement of the whole-for the honor of all. The patriotic traditions of the "old thirteen" that fought the battles of the Revolution, formed the Union of the States, and planted Liberty in the organic Law, will be your safest guide, your highest inspiration. Many of you today mingle with your love for Minnesota, your earlier affection for the old home and the old State far to the East, where an honored ancestry lie buried, and where the tenderest memories cluster around the familiar scenes of days long past. It is this kinship of blood, these ties of memory, that make us indeed one people-uniting the East and the West, the North and the South, in the indissoluble bonds of a common, and I trust, always beneficent Government."

The second regular, and concluding, session of the Forty-fifth Congress, opened Dec. 2d, 1878, Mr. Blaine was in his seat and actively at work on the opening day of what proved to be an interesting and most important session. On the very first day he introduced resolutions of inquiry respecting the conduct of elections in the Southern States, and on Jan. 11, 1879, he addressed the Senate upon said resolutions, as follows:—

"Mr. President;—The pending resolutions were offered by me with a two-fold purpose in view:—

First, to place on record, in a definite and authentic form, the frauds and outrages by which certain recent elections for representatives in Congress were carried by the Democratic party in the Southern States.

Second, to find if there be any method by which a repetition of these crimes against a free ballot may be prevented.

"The newspaper is the channel through which the people of the United States are informed of current events, and the accounts given in the press represent the elections in some of the Southern States to have been accompanied by violence, in not a few cases reaching the destruction of life; to have been controlled by threats that awed and intimidated a large class of voters; to have been manipulated by fraud of the most shameless and shameful description. Indeed in South Carolina there seems to have been no election at all in any proper sense of the term. There was a series of skirmishes over the State, in which the polling-places were regarded as forts to be captured by one party and held against the other; and where this could not be done with convenience, frauds in the count, and tissue-ballot devices were resorted to in order effectually to destroy the voice of the majority. These in brief are the accounts given in the non-partisan press, of the disgraceful outrages that attended the recent elections; and so far as I have seen, these statements are without serious contradiction. It is but just and fair to all parties. however, that an impartial investigation of the facts shall be made by a committee of the Senate, proceeding under the authority of law and representing the power of the Nation. Hence my resolution.

"But we do not need investigation to establish certain facts already of official record. We know that one hundred and six representatives in Congress were recently chosen in the States formerly slave-holding, and that the Democrats elected one hundred and one or possibly one hundred and two, and the Republicans four, or possibly five. We know that thirty-five of these representatives were assigned to the Southern States by reason of the colored population, and that the entire political power thus founded on the numbers of the colored people has

been seized and appropriated to the aggrandizement of its own strength by the Democratic party of the South.

"The issue thus raised before the country, Mr. President, is not one of mere sentiment for the rights of the negro -though far distant be the day when the rights of any American citizen, however black or however poor, shall form the mere dust of the balance in any controversy. Nor is the issue one that involves the waving of the "bloody shirt," to quote the elegant vernacular of Democratic vituperation; nor still further is the issue as now presented only a question of the equality of the black voter of the South with the white voter of the South. The issue, Mr. President, has taken a far wider range, one indeed of portentous magnitude; viz., whether the white voter of the North shall be equal to the white voter of the South in shaping the policy and fixing the destiny of this country; or whether, to state it still more baldly, the white man who fought in the ranks of the Union Army shall have as weighty and influential a vote in the Government of the Republic as the white man who fought in the ranks of the Rebel Army. The one fought to uphold, the other to destroy, the Union of the States, and to-day he who fought to destroy is a far more important factor in the Government of the Nation than he who fought to uphold.

"Let me illustrate my meaning by comparing groups of States of the same representative strength North and South. The States of South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana send seventeen representatives to Congress. Their aggregate population is composed of one million and thirty-five thousand whites and one million two hundred and twenty-four thousand colored; the colored being nearly two hundred thousand in excess of the whites. Of the seventeen representatives, it is evident that nine were

apportioned to these States by reason of their colored population, and only eight by reason of their white population; and yet in the choice of the entire seventeen representatives the colored voters had no more voice or power than their remote kindred on the shores of Senegambia or on the coast of Guinea. The one million and thirty-five thousand white people had the sole and absolute choice of the entire seventeen representatives. In contrast, two States in the North, Iowa and Wisconsin, with seventeen representatives have a white population of two million two hundred and forty-seven thousand, considerably more than double the entire white population of the three Southern States I have named. In Iowa and Wisconsin, therefore, it takes one hundred and thirty-two thousand white population to send a representative to Congress, but in South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana every sixty thousand white people send a representative. In other words, sixty thousand white people in those Southern States have precisely the same political power in the government of the country that one hundred and thirty-two thousand white people have in Iowa and Wisconsin.

"Take another group of seventeen representatives from the South and from the North. Georgia and Alabama have a white population of eleven hundred and fifty-eight thousand and a colored population of ten hundred and twenty thousand. They send seventeen representatives to Congress, of whom nine were apportioned on account of the white population and eight on account of the colored population. But the colored voters are not able to choose a single representative, the white Democrats choosing the whole seventeen. The four Northern States, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, and California, have seventeen representatives, based on a white population of two and a quarter millions, or almost double the white population of Georgia and Alabama, so that in these relative groups of States we find the white man in the South exercising by his vote double the political power of the white man in the North.

"Let us carry the comparison to a more comprehensive generalization. The eleven States that formed the Confederate government had by the last census a population of nine and a half millions, of which in round numbers five and a half millions were white and four millions colored. On this aggregate population seventy-three representatives in Congress were apportioned to those States, forty-two or three of which were by reason of the white population, and thirty or thirty-one by reason of the colored population. At the recent election the white Democracy of the South seized seventy of the seventythree districts, and thus secured a Democratic majority in the next House of Representatives. Thus it appears that throughout the States which formed the late Confederate Government, sixty-five thousand whites—the very people that rebelled against the Union-are enabled to elect a representative in Congress, while in the loyal States it requires one hundred and thirty-two thousand of the white people that fought for the Union to elect a representative. In levying every tax, therefore, in making every appropriation of money, in fixing every line of public policy, in decreeing what shall be the fate and fortune of the Republic, the Confederate soldier South is enabled to cast a vote that is twice as influential and twice as powerful as the vote of the Union soldier North.

"But the white men of the South did not acquire and do not hold this superior power by reason of law and justice, but in disregard and defiance of both. The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution was expected to be and was designed to be a preventive and corrective of all such possible abuses. The reading of the clause applicable to the case is instructive and suggestive. Hear it:—

"Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State."

"The patent, undeniable intent of this provision was that if any class of voters should be denied or in any way abridged in their right of suffrage, then the class so denied or abridged should not be counted in the basis of representation; or, in other words, that no State or States should gain a large increase of representation in Congress by reason of counting any class of population not permitted to take part in electing such representatives. But the construction given to this provision is that before any forfeiture of representation can be enforced the denial or abridgment of suffrage must be the result of a law specifically enacted by the State. Under this construction every negro voter may have his suffrage absolutely denied or fatally abridged by the violence, actual or threatened, of irresponsible mobs, or by frauds and deceptions of State

officers from the governor down to the last election clerk, and then, unless some State law can be shown that authorizes the denial or abridgment, the State escapes all penalty or peril of reduced representation. This construction may be upheld by the courts, ruling on the letter of the law, 'which killeth,' but the spirit of justice cries aloud against the evasive and atrocious conclusion that deals out oppression to the innocent and shields the guilty from the legitimate consequences of willful transgression.

"The colored citizen is thus most unhappily situated: his right of suffrage is but a hollow mockery; it holds to his ear the word of promise but breaks it always to his hope, and he ends only in being made the unwilling instrument of increasing the political strength of that party from which he suffered ever-tightening fetters when he was a slave and contemptuous refusal of civil rights since he was made free. He resembles indeed those unhappy captives in the East who, deprived of their birthright, are compelled to yield their strength to the aggrandizement of the monarch from whose tyrannies they have most to fear, and to fight against the power from which alone deliverance might be expected. The franchise intended for the shield and defense of the negro has been turned against him and against his friends and has vastly increased the power of those from whom he has nothing to hope and every thing to dread.

"The political strength thus unjustly seized by Southern Democrats by reason of the negro population is equal to thirty-five representatives in Congress. It is massed almost solidly and offsets the great State of New York; or Pennsylvania and New Jersey together; or the whole of New England; or Ohio and Indiana united; or the combined strength of Illinois, Minnessta, Kansas, California, Nevada, Nebraska, Colorado, and Oregon. The

seizure of this power is wanton usurpation; it is flagrant outrage; it is violent perversion of the whole theory of Republican government. It inures solely to the apparent advantage and yet, I believe, to the permanent dishonor of the Democratic party. It is by reason of this trampling down of human rights, this ruthless seizure of unlawful power, that the Democratic party holds the popular branch of Congress to-day and will in less than ninety days have control of this body also, thus grasping the entire Legislature department of the Government through the unlawful capture of the Southern States. If the proscribed vote of the South were cast as its lawful owners desire, the Democratic party could not gain control. Nav. if the ballot of the colored man were not counted on the other side, against the instincts and the interests, against the principles and the prejudices, of its lawful owners, Democratic success would be hopeless. It is not enough, then, for modern Democratic tactics that the negro vote shall be silenced; the demand goes farther and insists that it shall be counted on the Democratic side, that all the representatives in Congress and all the Presidential electors apportioned by reason of the negro vote shall be so cast and so controlled as to insure Democratic success-regardless of justice, in defiance of law.

"This great wrong is wholly unprovoked. I doubt if it be in the power of the most searching investigation to show that in any Southern State during the period of Republican control any legal voter was ever debarred from the freest exercise of his suffrage. Even the revenges which would have leaped into life with many who despised the negro were buried out of sight with a magnanimity which the "superior race" fail to follow and seem reluctant to recognize. I know it is said in reply to such charges against the Southern elections as I am now

reviewing, that unfairness of equal gravity prevails in Northern elections. I hear it in many quarters and read it in the papers that in the late exciting election in Massachusetts intimidation and bulldozing, if not so rough and rancorous as in the South, were yet as wide-spread and effective.

"I have read and yet I refuse to believe that the distinguished gentleman, who made an energetic but unsuccessful canvass for the governorship of the State, has indorsed and approved these charges, and I have accordingly made my resolution broad enough to include their thorough investigation. I am not demanding fair elections in the South without demanding fair elections in the North also. But venturing to speak for the New England States, of whose laws and customs I know something, I dare assert that in the late election in Massachusetts, or any of her neighboring Commonwealths, it will be impossible to find even one case where a voter was driven from the polls, where a voter did not have the fullest, fairest, freest opportunity to cast the ballot of his choice and have it honestly and faithfully counted in the returns. Suffrage on this continent was first made universal in New England, and in the administration of their affairs her people have found no other appeal necessary than that which is addressed to their honesty of conviction and to their intelligent self-interest. If there be any thing different to disclose I pray you show it to us that we may amend our ways.

"But whenever a feeble protest is made against such injustice as I have described in the South, the response we receive comes to us in the form of a taunt, "What are you going to do about it?" and "How do you propose to help yourselves?" This is the stereotyped answer of defiance which intrenched wrong always gives to inquir-

ing justice. Those who imagine it to be conclusive do not know the temper of the American people. For let me assure you that against the complicated outrage upon the right of representation lately triumphant in the South there will be arrayed many phases of public opinion in the North not often hitherto in harmony. Men who have cared little, and affected to care less, for the rights or the wrongs of the negro suddenly find that vast monetary and commercial interests, great questions of revenue, adjustments of tariff, investments in manufactures, in railways, and in mines, are under the control of a Democratic Congress whose majority was obtained by depriving the negro of his rights under a common Constitution and common laws. Men who have expressed disgust with the waving of bloody shirts and have been offended with talk about negro equality are beginning to perceive that the question of to-day relates more pressingly to the equality of white men under this Government, and that however careless they may be about the rights or the wrongs of the negro, they are jealous and tenacious about the rights of their own race and the dignity of their own firesides and their own kindred.

"I know something of public opinion in the North. I know a great deal about the views, wishes, and purposes of the Republican party of the Nation. Within that entire great organization there is not one man, whose opinion is entitled to be quoted, that does not desire peace and harmony and friendship and a patriotic and fraternal union between the North and the South. This wish is spontaneous and universal throughout the Northern States; and yet, among men of character and sense, there is surely no need of attempting to deceive ourselves as to the precise truth. First pure, then peaceable. Gush will not remove a grievance, and no disguise of State rights

will close the eyes of our people to the necessity of correcting a great National wrong. Nor should the South make the fatal mistake of concluding that injustice to the negro is not also injustice to the white man; nor should it ever be forgotten that for the wrongs of both a remedy will assuredly be found. The war, with all its costly sacrifices, was fought in vain unless equal rights for all classes be established in all the States of the Union. In words which are those of friendship, however they may be accepted, I tell the men of the South here on this floor and beyond this Chamber, that even if they could strip the negro of his Constitutional rights they can never permanently maintain the inequality of white men in this nation. They can never make a white man's vote in the South doubly as powerful in the administration of the Government as a white man's vote in the North.

"In a memorable debate in the House of Commons, Mr. Macaulay reminded Daniel O'Connell, when he was moving for Repeal, that the English Whigs had endured calumny, abuse, popular fury, loss of position, exclusion from Parliament rather than that the great agitator himself should be less than a British subject; and Mr. Macaulay warned him that they would never suffer him to be more. Let me now remind you that the Government, under whose protecting flag we sit to-day, sacrificed myriads of lives and expended thousands of millions of treasure that our countrymen of the South should remain citizens of the United States, having equal personal rights and equal political privileges with all other citizens. I venture, now and here, to warn the men of the South, in the exact words of Macaulay, that we will never suffer them to be more!"

The resolutions thus introduced by Mr. Blaine, and

upon which so ably spoke, were amended so as to make them referable to a "Special Committee," which became known as the "Teller Committee," whose report fully established the number and character of the outrages upon the ballot in the Southern States, and has proved a mine of information for students and statesmen ever since.

It was in December (Dec. 23) 1878 that Mr. Blaine's versatility of resource and rhetorical felicity were drawn upon at the dinner of the New England Society of New York. He was introduced, not as a native, but as a representative man of New England, and was asked to respond to the toast, "New England character—adapted to every requirement; it fits her sons, not only to fill, but to adorn every station."

The response of Mr. Blaine was in his happiest vein and fully sustained his wide-spread reputation for impressive and well sustained oratory.

During the second session of the Forty-fifth Congress. legislation upon the Chinese question took definite form and drew all of the prominent senators into lengthy and able debate. This Chinese question began to assume importance in California in 1877, where the Workingmen's party, led by Dennis Kearney, openly opposed further immigration of the Chinese and attempted to expel by violence those who comprised the Chinese colony. On the issues then raised, Kalloch was elected Mayor of San Francisco. The excitement was carried to the Legislature of the State where it was found that all classes were opposed to Chinese immigration, and a constitutional amendment was passed, prohibiting it. This amendment did not stand the test of the courts, and the matter was carried into Congress. The result was the "Anti-Chinese Bill," limiting the number of Chinese immigrants to fifteen in each vessel. The bill was passed by both

Brown, let was retail by Standard Happ, as in talltion of the Bodingson Treaty with Chine. It was invered panel over the next, or Feb 22, 160). The delates again the fill distant take party stope, though in and promoted approach were Regulation, and Mr. Haine, in the position he half, extend upon quite independent, and obstationments proved to be very pagelat, ground. The articlitieses legislation of this senior, heater the ground-mark for facther arm, a few years later, which practically shoulded the inteptions could trade and prevented Gimese immigration energy moler the most forceable circumstances.

Mr. Blains took his position upon the Chinese question, only after thorough investigation of the subject. This is quite evident from the domester of his species in the Senate. When case constructed of his species in the Senate. When case constructed of his position he there will his genius and shifting in opposition to feet immigration of these people to our aboves. Such was the force of his arguments that he conside the Senate with him and was largely instrumental in contributing to the two-thirds majority necessary to pass the hill of 1879 over the President's nets. His action conduced greatly to his popularity on the Pacific coast, and he ever afterwards found there his most ordent admirers and staurchest supporters.

As already intimated, it was in February, 1879, that the Chinese question came squarely before the Senate, in the shape of an abrogation of so much of the Burlingame Treaty as permitted the free immigration of the Chinese, On the 14th of the month Mr. Blaine addressed the Senate at length, and as follows:—

MR. PRESIDENT:-"In the remarks made yesterday by the honorable senator from Ohio, (Mr. Matthews) he in-

timated, if he did not directly assert, that the Government of the United States had solicited from the Chinese Empire the treaty now under consideration. The statement is, I think, though of course not so intended, the exact reverse of the historic fact. What is known as the Reed Treaty had given to the merchants of the United States, and to all who desired to trade in China, the facilities they desired. The Burlingame Treaty involving other points was certainly asked from the United States in the most impressive manner by a Chinese Embassy. The eminent gentleman who had gone to China as our minister, had transferred his services to the Chinese Empire, and returning to us with great prestige at the head of a special embassy from China, with a great number of friends at home, was able to do what perhaps no other man then living could have done for China. He was often spoken of during his lifetime as merely a stump speaker. He has been ten years in his grave; and I desire, now that his name is before us, to refer to him as a man of great address and great ability; a man who showed his power by the commanding position which he acquired in the Chinese Empire, and by the influence which he exerted in his own country in its relations to China.

"This subject divides itself naturally into two parts, one of form and one of substance. The one of form is whether we may rightfully adopt this mode of terminating the treaty. The second and graver question is whether it is desirable to exclude Chinese immigration from this country. I noticed that the senator from Ohio yesterday in discussing the first of these questions called the attention of the Senate to the gravity of the obligation which exists between the two countries, but he stopped reading at a very significant point. He read the

following paragraph or part of a paragraph from the fifth article of the treaty:-

"The United States of America and the Emperor of China cordially recognize the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantage of the free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects, respectively, from the one country to the other, for purposes of curiosity, of trade, or as permanent residents."

Here the honorable senator from Ohio stopped, and it was well for his argument that he did, for directly after the words that he read are the following:—

"The high contracting parties, therefore, join in reprobating any other than an entirely voluntary emigration for these purposes. They consequently agree to pass laws making it a penal offense for a citizen of the United States or Chinese subjects to take Chinese subjects either to the United States or to any other foreign country, or for a Chinese subject or citizen of the United States to take citizens of the United States to China or to any other foreign country without their free and voluntary consent respectively."

I maintain that the latter clause of the treaty has been persistently violated by China from the hour it was made. In the sense in which we receive immigration from Europe not one Chinese immigrant has ever come to these shores. The qualifying words were understood at the time to have been penned by Mr. Seward. They are worth repeating; and as my honorable friend from Ohio

did not read them yesterday, I will read them again in his hearing:-

"The high contracting parties, therefore, join in rep. robating any other than an entirely voluntary emigration for these purposes."

"The words are worth emphasizing; not merely "voluntary," it must be "entirely voluntary," and then each nation is to make laws to secure this end. I am informed by those who are more familiar with this subject than I am, that no notice has been received at the State Department showing that China has ever complied with that provision of the treaty requiring her to make laws regulating emigration. Still less has she attempted to enforce a law on the subject. The mere making of a law and not enforcing it would be no compliance with the treaty. The Chinese agree, in other words, to enforce the provision that there should be nothing else than "voluntary" emigration, an "entirely voluntary" emigration. They have never done as they agreed, they have been absolutely faithless on that point.

"The treaty stands as broken and defied by China from the hour it was made to this time. Its terms have never been complied with. We have been compelled to legislate against it. We legislated against it in the Cooly law. The Chinese were so flagrantly violating it that statutes of the United States were enacted to contravene the evil the Chinese were doing. The evil has gone on, probably not so grossly since these laws were passed as before, but in effect the same. The point which the senator makes in regard to our Punic faith in attempting to break this treaty, is therefore answered by the fact

that the treaty has been broken continuously by the other power.

"The senator from Ohio asked what we should do in a similar case if the other contracting party were Great Britain or Germany or France or any power that was able to make war. I ask the honorable senator what he would advise us to do if Great Britain or France or Germany should locate six commercial companies in New York, whose business it should be to bring to this country the worst class and the lowest class of the population of those three kingdoms? What would the honorable senator from Ohio say to that? or does he hesitate to declare what we should say to it?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does the senator desire an answer? Mr. Blaine. Yes, if the senator pleases.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Then, Mr. President, I would say this, that instead of inaugurating an arbitrary and exparte act of legislation on our own part, giving our own construction to the treaty and the conduct of the other party under it, I would, through the usual diplomatic representative of this country, make representations to that Government making complaints of the alleged breach of the treaty, and ask what answer could be made to that, and only in the event, as a last resort, of a contumacious refusal to obey the plain requisitions of the treaty obligation, would I resort to a repudiation of our own obligations under it.

MR. BLAINE. Ah! I asked him what he would do in case the contracting parties had themselves broken the treaty and we were the victim of the breach. He answers me that he would take hat ju hand and bow politely before them, and ask them if they would not behave better! What are we to do as a measure of self-defense when they have broken it, and taken the initiative? I say

with the exception of the Burlingame Treaty, any one in that whole list relating to a commercial connection, which does not either terminate itself by a certain date or provide the mode of its termination. Almost all of them have a given date upon which they expire. Some of them have a time within which either party may give notice, but there is a clause in almost every one of them providing that by a certain process either country may free itself from the obligations that it assumed. The Burlingame Treaty is peculiar; it relates to a commercial and personal connection of trade and of emigration, but it does not may that it shall last ten years or twenty years, or any other period; it is interminable in its provisions; it does not provide that we shall give notice in a certain way, or that China shall give notice in a certain way. There is no provision in the world by which it can be terminated unless one of the parties shall take the initiative, as is now proposed.

"It is, "I repeat," evident that one party or the other must take the initiative. The senator from Ohio says he would go to the Emperor and make certain representations. Then I ask the honorable senator, Suppose the Emperor should refuse, what would he do? Suppose the Emperor should say, "You have entered into a treaty with my Government for all time; its very terms show that there was to be no limit to it." I ask the honorable senator from Ohio what he would then do? Suppose we are unanimously of opinion here that the treaty ought not to continue, what would the honorable senator do in case the Emperor should say, "I desire to stand by that treaty"? What then?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does the senator wish an answer?

Mr. BLAINE. Yes, if it be agreeable to the honorable senator from Ohio.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I should take it into consideration.
[Laughter.]

Mr. Blaine. That is a very exact and executive way of doing things. The honorable senator would consider. That is just about as definite a point as I supposed the senator would come to. If the Senate unanimously determine that this treaty ought to be ended and we send an embassy, as he suggests, to the Emperor and the Emperor says, "No, I think it ought not to be ended," the senator says he would come back and sit-down and take it into serious consideration.

"The learned senator from Ohio, eminent in the law as he is known to be, read us a lesson upon the great obligations that rest upon us a nation of honorable people, as if indeed we were about to do something in the way of terminating a treaty that would give us a bad name and fame among the nations of the earth.

"In answer to the honorable senator, without attempting to defend all that has been done by various nations in regard to the termination of treaties, let me say that it has been the usual habit and is laid down in the very principia of the law of nations (which I need not quote), that when a people find a treaty "pernicious to the nation,"—the very words of Vattel,—they may terminate it. We took advantage of this French authority on a very memorable occasion. The treaty which we made with France in 1778, a treaty that was considered to be the origin of our strength in the Revolutionary war, contained this article:—

[&]quot;Neither of the two parties shall conclude either truce or peace with Great Britain without the formal consent of the other, first obtained."

"The French afterward said that the Americans, without giving them the slightest notice, "stealthily precipitated" a peace, and left them open either to war or negotiation; and when we were accused of it, we quoted their own author and replied that this action was absolutely essential to the life of our young Nation. We were compelled to do it, and we did it. Self-preservation is the first law of nations, as well as of nature, and we resorted to it.

"I proceed, Mr. President, to the second branch of my subject. The Chinese question is not new in this body. We have had it here very often, and have had it here in important relations, and I wish to lay down this principle, that, so far as my vote is concerned, I will not admit a man by immigration to this country whom I am not willing to place on the basis of a citizen. Let me repeat that we ought not to permit in this country of universal suffrage the immigration of a great people, great in numbers, whom we ourselves declare to be utterly unfit for citizenship.

"What do we say on that point? In the Senate of the United States, on the fourth day of July, 1870, a patriotic day, we were amending the naturalization laws. We had practically made all the negroes of the United States voters; at least we had said they should not be deprived of suffrage by reason of race or color. We had admitted them all, and we then amended the naturalization laws no that the emigrant from Africa could become a citizen of the United States. Then Senator Trumbull moved to add:—

He said :-

[&]quot; Or persons born in the Chinese Empire."

[&]quot;I have offered this amendment so as to bring the dis-

tinct question before the Senate, whether they will vote to naturalize persons from Africa, and vote to refuse to naturalize those who come from China. I ask for the yeas and nays on my amendment."

The yeas and nays were as follows on the question of whether we would ever admit a Chinaman to become an American citizen. The yeas were:—

"Messrs. Fenton, Fowler, McDonald, Pomeroy, Rice, Robertson, Sprague Sumner, and Trumbull.—9."

The nays were :-

"Messrs. Bayard, Boreman, Chandler, Conkling, Corbett, Cragin, Drake, Gilbert, Hamilton of Maryland, Hamlin, Harlan, Howe, McCreery, Morrill of Vermont, Morton, Nye, Osborn, Ramsey, Saulsbury, Sawyer, Scott, Stewart, Stockton, Thayer, Thurman, Tipton, Vickers, Warner, Willey, Williams, and Wilson.—31."

"It will thus be seen that the vote was thirty-one against nine in a Senate three-fourths Republican, declaring that the Chinaman never ought to be made a citizen. I think this settles the whole question, if the position assumed by that vote was a correct one, because in our system of Government as it is to-day you cannot, with safety to all, permit a large immigration of people who are not to be made citizens. The senator from California [Mr. Sargent] tells us that already the male adult Chinese in California are as numerous as the white voters. I take him as an authority from his own State, as I should expect him to take my statement as authority about my own State.

"It seems to me that if we adopt as a permanent policy the free immigration of those who, by overwhelming votes in both branches of Congress must forever remain political and social pariahs in a great free Government, we have introduced an element that we cannot control. We cannot stop where we are. We are compelled to do one of two things—either exclude the immigration of Chinese or if we admit them, include them in the great family of citizens.

"The argument is often put forward that there is no special danger that large numbers of Chinese will come here; that it is not a practical question; and as the honorable senator from Ohio is free to answer, I ask him if the number should mount up into the millions, what would be his view?

Mr. Matthews. The senator seems to expect a reply to his inquiry. I would say that when there was a reasonable apprehension by the United States of the immigration mounting up to such numbers, then I would take that into consideration.

MR. BLAINE. Take that into consideration also! The senator is definite! If the Chinese should amount to millions in the population of the Pacific slope, he would begin to take it into consideration! That is practical legislation! That is legislating for an evil which is upon us to-day! The senator's statesmanship is certainly of a considerate kind.

"A word now about the question of numbers. Did it ever occur to my honorable friend from Ohio that the large numbers, the incalculable hordes in China, are much nearer to the Pacific coast of the United States, in point of money and transit, in point of expense of reaching it, than the people of Kansas? A man in Shanghai or Hong-Kong can be delivered at San Francisco more cheaply than a man in Omaha. I do not speak of the Atlantic coast, where the population is still more remote; but you may take the Mississippi Valley, Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri, all the great commonwealths of that valley, and they are, in point of expense, farther off from the Pacific slope than the population of China and Japan.

"I am told by those who are familiar with the commercial affairs of the Pacific slope that a person can be sent from any of the great Chinese ports to San Francisco for about thirty dollars. I suppose in an emigrant train over the Pacific Railroad from Omaha, not to speak of the expense of reaching Omaha, but from that point alone, it would cost fifty dollars per head. So that in point of cheap transportation to California the Chinaman to-day has an advantage over an American laborer in any part of the country, except in the case of those who are already on the Pacific coast.

"Ought we to exclude them? The question lies in my mind thus: Either the Caucasian race will possess the Pacific slope or the Mongolian race will possess it. Give Mongolians the start to-day, with the keen thrust of necessity behind them, and with the ease of transportation and the inducement of higher wages before them, and it is entirely probable if not demonstrable that while we are filling up the other portions of the continent, they will occupy the great space of country between the Sierras and the Pacific coast. The Chinese are themselves to-day establishing steamship lines; they are themselves to-day providing the means of transportation; and when gentlemen say that we admit from all other countries, where do you find the slightest parallel? In a Republic especially, in any Government that mantains itself, the unit of order and of administration is in the family. The

emigrants that come to us from all portions of the British Isles from Germany, from Norway, from Denmark, from France, from Spain, from Italy, come here with the idea of the family as much engraven on their minds and on their customs and habits as ours. The Asiatic cannot live with our population and make a homogeneous element. The idea of comparing European immigration with an immigration that has no regard to family, that does not recognize the relation of husband and wife, that does not observe the tie of parent and child, that does not feel in the slightest degree the humanizing and the ennobling influences of the hearth-stone and the fireside! When gentlemen talk loosely about emigration from European countries as contrasted with that, they certainly are forgetting history and forgetting themselves.

"My honorable colleague [Mr. Hamlin] and the senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Howe] voted that the Chinaman ought not to be a citizen of this country, voted that he ought not to become a voter in this country. My honorable friend from Wisconsin now says, sotto voce, that he did not vote that the Chinaman never should be enfranchised; but he is like the honorable senator from Ohio; he voted "no," and then proceeded to take the question "into consideration"-leisurely, and he has been leisurely considering it for ten years. When the question was before us, whether the Chinaman should be a subject of naturalization, the senator from Wisconsin said "no," and he said "no," at a time when he said the negro directly from Africa might come in and be naturalized. He said "no" at a time when every other immigrant from every portion of the habitable globe was the subject of naturalization. I think the Chinaman in California, if he is to be forced upon us in great numbers, would be safer as

a voter, dangerous as that would be, than as a political pariah.

MR. Howe. Why not apply that remedy?

MR. BLAINE. You do not remedy one evil by precipitating another evil. I wish to remove both. You only present me another evil. I am opposed to the Chinese coming here; I am opposed to making them citizens; I am opposed to making them voters. But the senatur from Wisconsin must contemplate the fact that with the ordinary immigration now going on, if the statistics given by the honorable senator from California are correct, we shall soon have a large majority of the male adults of California non-voters; and with the Republic organized as it is to-day, I do not believe that you can maintain a non-voting class in this country. Negro suffrage was a necessity. Abused as suffrage has been in the South, curtailed unfairly, it is still the shield and defense of that race; and with all its imperfections and all its abuses and all its short-comings by reasons of his own ignorance or by the tyranny of others, the suffrage of the negro has wrought out, or has pointed the way by which shall be wrought out, his personal liberty, his political salvation.

"I have talked with a great many gentlemen on the opposite side of this question, and I never yet have seen one who did not, like the honorable senator from Ohio, desire to escape present responsibility, and take the subject into consideration when it came to the point of how far this immigration shall be permitted to go? The honorable senator declined to tell me where he would limit it. I have never yet found any one who would say that he would allow it to be illimitable. I have never yet found an advocate of Chinese immigration, who was willing to name a point where he would fix it and restrain it. Is there any senator on this floor—and I ask to be

answered if there is—who will say that under the operation of the Burlingame Treaty, as it is now administered, he is willing that the Chinese should come in and occupy the three Pacific States to the exclusion of the whites? I will repeat my question in another form: Should we be justified in sitting still here in the administration of this Government and permitting this treaty to remain in force and the immigration which it allows, to go forward until those three States of the Pacific side should be overridden by that population? That is what I ask every senator.

Mr. Hamlin. If my colleague wants an answer, I will give him one for myself. I will come a little nearer my colleague than the senator from Ohio; I will take it into consideration now. I will meet every question as it shall arise, and I will state to my colleague how I would meet it when it shall arise. It has not arisen now. When the time shall come that I become satisfied that the population of China will overrun our country, and there shall be danger or imminent peril from that immigration, I will join with my colleague in abrogating all treaties with them; not one single little paragraph of a treaty, while we ask them to maintain it in its integrity for all commercial advantages that the treaty bestows upon us, and all the protection that that treaty gives us to the right of trial by jury under our own laws. I will not meet it by an attempt to abrogate a treaty upon a little point, while we are the beneficiaries in the great and substantial points. I am indifferent to all the danger that shall come away down into the stillness of ages from the immigration of the Chinese. Treat them, I will not say like pagans, because Confucius would shame us if we go to his counsel-treat them like Christians, and they will become good American citizens. [Applause in the galleries.]

MR. BLAINE. But my colleague voted that they should

not become American citizens.

MR. HAMLIN. I do not want to interrupt my colleague, but I will state before the debate shall close, the reasons which were satisfactory to my mind for my vote then, and I am half inclined to believe that I will so state them that my colleague himself will see that I then voted right.

MR. BLAINE. I would have voted with my colleague

on that question, as I have already stated.

MR. SARGENT. Will the senator from Maine [Mr. Blaine] allow me to justify a statement he has made? I will take but a moment. I understood his colleague [Mr. Hamlin] to say that the average importation of Chinese during the last twenty years had been four thousand a year.

Mr. Hamlin. Between four and five thousand. I think it is utterly impossible to state with precise accuracy what is the number of Chinese in this country at this time. I think, however, it can be approximated very closely. The senator from California has stated the basis of his conclusions. Now I will give from the Alta California Almanac, published in San Francisco, the calculation, and I will read it to the Senate. It may be they have made an under-estimate, but they would not be very likely to do it in that community.

MR. SARGENT. That paper is very strongly pro-Chinese,

and the only one on the Pacific coast.

MR. HAMLIN The only one! I think there are five in the city of San Francisco which favor the immigration of Chinese. I have two or three of them here. In thirty years, according to the official report, the gain in the arrivals over departures has been 130,863, or at the rate of 4,662 per annum. The deaths, according to the Alta Almanac, page 43, number about 20 for every 1,000 per annum; but taking the largest number given for arrivals, 233,000, and taking the official figure of returns, 98,000, and deaths of 20 in every 1,000 per annum, and you have 128,000 deducted from the 233,000, leaving the number on this continent at the present time the enormous number of about 100,000! The Alta Almanac further gives, on page 43, the number in California at 78,000, while I understand the official record of the Chinese themselves places the number in California at but 60,000. Now, I say to my colleague, it was upon that information that I said the arrivals beyond the departures had been between four and five thousand.

MR. BLAINE. Still the wonder grows with me that if the aggregate immigration is so small and will remain so small, as my colleague states, he should still have thought and have voted that they ought not to be citizens, and could not be safely trusted with the elective franchise. All that my honorable colleague has said makes me wonder still more at that vote, although, as I state, I would have given the same vote with him; but I would have given it on entirely different considerations and with an entirely different view. I am sure, even if I repeat myself in so saying, that no gentleman can justify an indefinite immigration from China who is not willing to assume and justify all the responsibilities of making the immigrants citizens of the United States, because we cannot continue to expose the Pacific coast to that immigration with a non-voting class largely outnumbering the voting class.

"The senator from Ohio [Mr. Matthews] made light of the race trouble. I supposed if there be any part of the world where a man would not make light of a race trouble relation of family. There is not a peasant's cottage inhabited by a Chinaman; there is not a hearth-stone, as it is found and cherished in an American home, or an English home, or a German home, or a French home. There is not a domestic fireside in that sense; and yet you say that it is entirely safe to sit down and quietly permit that mode of life to be fastened upon our country. A half-century ago this question could not have been made a practical one. Means of communication, ease of access, cheapness of transportation, have changed the issue, and forced it upon our attention. I believe now that if the Congress of the United States should in effect confirm the treaty and the status of immigration as it now is, law and order could not be maintained in California without the interposition of the military five years hence. Do I overstate that?

MR. SARGENT. I am sorry to say that I think the senator does not overstate it.

Mr. Blaire. I do not justify the brutality of the treatment of those Chinese who are here. That is greatly to be regretted and greatly to be condemned. But you must deal with things as you find them. If you foresee a conflict upon that coast by reason of an immigration that calls for the interposition of the military, I think it is a great deal wiser and more direct way to avoid the trouble by preventing the immigration.

I have heard much of late about their cheap labor. I do not myself believe in cheap labor. I do not believe cheap labor should be an object of legislation, and it cannot be in a Republic. The wealthy classes in a Republic where suffrage is universal, cannot safely legislate for cheap labor. I repeat it. The wealthy classes in a Republic where suffrage is universal, must not legislate in favor of cheap labor. Labor should not be cheap, and

it should not be dear; it should have its share, and it will have its share. There is not a laborer on the Pacific coast to-day-I say that to my honorable colleague whose whole life has been consistent and uniform in defense and advocacy of the interests of the laboring classes-there is not a laboring-man on the Pacific coast to-day who does not feel wounded and grieved by the competition that comes from this immigration. Then the answer is, "But, are not American laborers equal to Chinese laborers?" I answer that question by asking another. Were not free white American laborers equal to African slaves in the South? When you tell me that the Chinaman driving out the free American laborer only proves the superiority of the Chinaman, I ask you if the African slave driving out the free white labor from the South proved the superiority of slave labor? The conditions are not unlike; the parallel is not complete, and yet it is a parallel.

"Chinese labor is servile labor. It is not free labor such as we intend to develop and encourage and build up in this country. It is labor that comes here under a mortgage. It is labor that comes here to subsist on what the American laborer cannot subsist on. You cannot work a man who must have beef and bread, and would like beer, in competition with a man who can live on rice. In all such conflicts and in all such struggles the result is not to bring up the man who lives on rice to the beef and bread standard, but it is to bring down the man living on beef and bread to the rice standard. Slave labor degraded free labor. It took out its respectability, it put an odious caste upon it. It throttled the prosperity of one of the fairest portions of the Union; and a worse than slave labor will throttle and impair the prosperity of a still finer and fairer section of the Union. We can choose here to-day whether our legislation shall be in the interest of the American free laborer or in favor of the servile laborer from China.

"I rose, Mr. President, to speak briefly. I have had many interruptions or I should have long since taken my seat. In conclusion, I maintain that the legislation now proposed is in strictest accord with international obligation on these two grounds: First we have given notice; and second the Chinese Empire has persistently violated the treaty. Whether you take it on the one ground or the other, we are entirely justified in adopting the pending measure. The Chinese have never lived for one year or even one month by the terms of the treaty. A treaty, I repeat, which is interminable, so far as its own language is involved, must be terminated if either party desires its termination, by just such action as this bill proposes.

"The question of form being disposed of, the question of substance is whether on full consideration we shall devote that interesting and important section of the United States which borders on the Peaceful Sea to be the home and the refuge of our own people and our own blood, or whether we shall leave it open, not to the competition of other nations like ourselves, but to those who, degraded themselves, will inevitably degrade us. We have this day to choose whether we shall have for the Pacific coast the civilization of Christ or the civilization of Confucius."

It will be seen that Mr. Blaine had to contend with a powerful sentiment in the Senate against any modification of the Burlingame Treaty, without which modification any act of Congress prohibiting Chinese immigration would be necessarily weak. It must be said that he held his ground with great ability and tenacity. He was replied to by Senator Eustis of Louisiana, who imputed to

Mr. Blaine a desire to defend the outrages perpetrated upon the Chinese in California by the followers of Dennis Kearney, then called "Sand-Lotters." This speech brought Mr. Blaine to his feet again, on the following day, and he made an unanswerable reply to Mr. Eustis' remarks.

Mr. Blaine was criticised from many sources for the position he assumed on this Chinese question, and he carried his defence into the newspapers, one of his ablest articles being a reply to the criticisms of William Loyd Garrison, which appeared in the New York *Tribune*, and was dated Feb. 21, 1879.

The old Republican measures for keeping the peace at the polls during the Congressional elections had been violently attacked during the second session of the Fortyfifth Congress, and so bitter and desperate did the Democrats become that they loaded the appropriation bills with riders intended to tie the hands of the President. These bills he was forced to veto, or else submit to usurpation of his executive function by the Congress. Thus the session and the Congress ended, leaving the army without appropriations, and the President helpless to preserve the peace. It, therefore, became necessary to call the Fortysixth Congress in extra-session, which was done March 18, 1879, the object being to pass an Army Appropriation bill. Both Houses were now Democratic, and the task of securing for the administration the money it needed was a herculean one. The Democrats were engaged in an unprecedented and desperate game, and they persevered in it without regard to the revolutionary and disastrous consequences it involved. It was time for decisive action on the part of the President, and his call for an extra session was his first step. But now he was in need of the ablest supporters he could find on the floor of both Houses,

These he found in abundance on the floor of the House. the staunchest and ablest among them being Garfield. He found them also in the Upper House, and Blaine became their leader. It was to be a rattling assault all along the enemy's lines. The folly of the Democratic position was to be exposed, they were to be shamed for their puerility, every excuse they could invent was to be swept away. Day after day the battle was waged in both Houses. Passion rose high. The Republicans became solidly united, and the President rose to the importance of the situation by again vetoing the Army Appropriation bill which passed, and which contained the arbitrary and insulting "rider" that he should not use any of the money appropriated for the purpose of keeping peace at the polls. The bill could not be passed over his veto. The majority grew ashamed of its attitude and finally agreed to pass the bill without its offensive provisos.

The crisis was a most serious one. Public opinion was greatly excited, and remained for a long time inflammable. It was clear to every patriotic mind that the Democratic position was per se a revolution against the Constitution and Government, and if persisted in its consequences would be the subversion of the Government. It required brave men to meet it, and perhaps no course of conduct and no strength of effort ever contributed more to the crystalization of patriotic sentiment around Mr. Blaine than those which make up his history in this crisis. It was a grand field of opportunity for his brilliancy of parts, his originality, his strength in attack, his withering sarcasm, his crushing aggressiveness, his skill in the handling of all the weapons of debate and parliamentary law. Both the Administration and country owed to him a debt of gratitude for the part he took in upholding the Constitution through these long weeks of tumultuous debate, impious plot and national peril.

It was on April 14, 1879, that Mr. Blaine delivered his ablest speech upon the measure then pending, and designed to strip the President of all power to "keep the peace at the polls." On that occasion he said:—

"Mr. President,—The existing section of the Revised Statutes numbered 2002 reads thus:—

"No military or naval officer, or other person engaged in the civil, military or naval service of the United States, shall order, bring, keep or have under his authority or control, any troops or armed men at the place where any general or special election is held in any State, unless it be necessary to repel the armed enemies of the United States, or to keep the peace at the polls."

"The object of the proposed section, which has just been read at the clerk's desk, is to get rid of the eight closing words, namely, "or to keep the peace at the polls." The mode of legislation proposed in the army bill now before the Senate is therefore an unusual mode. It is an extraordinary mode. If it be desired to repeal a single sentence at the end of a section in the Revised Statutes the ordinary way is to strike off those words, but the mode chosen in this bill is to repeat and re-enact the whole section, leaving those few words out. While I do not wish to be needlessly suspicious on a small point, I am quite persuaded that this did not happen by accident. It came by design. If I may so speak, it came of cunning, the intent being to create the impression that the Republicans in the administration of the General Government had been using troops right and left, hither and

thither, in every direction, and that the Democrats as soon as they came into power enacted this section. I can imagine Democratic candidates for Congress in the next campaign all over the country reading this section to gaping audiences as one of the first offsprings of Democratic reform, whereas every word of it, every syllable of it, from its first to its last, is the enactment of a Republican Congress.

"I repeat that this unusual form presents a dishonest issue, whether so intended or not. It aims to make it appear that as soon as the Democrats got possession of the Federal Government they proceeded to enact the clause which is thus expressed. The law was passed by a Republican Congress in February, 1865. There were fortysix senators sitting in this Chamber at the time, of whom only ten or at most eleven were Democrats. The House of Representatives was overwhelmingly Republican. We were in the midst of a war. The Republican administration had a million or possibly twelve hundred thousand bayonets at its command. Thus situated, with the amplest possible power to interfere with elections had they so designed, with soldiers in every hamlet and county of the United States, the Republican party themselves placed that provision on the statute-book, and Abraham Lincoln signed it.

"I beg you to observe, Mr. President, that this is the first instance in the legislation of the United States in which any restrictive provision whatever was enacted in regard to the use of troops at the polls. The Republican party did it with the Sanate and the House in their control. Abraham Lincoln signed it when he was Communderin-Chief of an army larger than over Supplemen Bomparia had at his command. So much by way of correcting an ingenious and studied sitempt at interspressmitation.

"The alleged object is to strike out the few words that anthorize the use of troubles "to keep peace at the polls." This country has been alarmed, perhaps I would better say amused, at the great effort made to create an impression that the Republican party relies for its popular strength upon the use of the bayonet. This Democratic Congress has attempted to give a bad name to this country throughout the civilized world, and to give it on a false issue—false in whole and in detail, false in the charge, false in all the specifications. The impression sought to be created, as I say, not only throughout the North American Continent but in Europe to-day, is that elections, at least in the Southern States of the Union, are controlled by the bayonet.

"I denounce it here as a false issue. I am not at liberty to say that any gentleman making the issue knows it to be false. I trust he does not. But I shall prove to him that it is false, and that it has not a solitary inch of solid ground to rest upon. I have in my hand an official transcript of the location and the number of all the troops of the United States east of Omaha. By "east of Omaha." I mean all the United States east of the Mississippi River together with the belt of States that border the Mississippi River on the west. They include forty-one millions, at least, of the forty-five millions of people that this country is supposed to contain to-day. In that magnificent area, I will not pretend to state its extent. but with forty-one million of people, I know officially the exact number of troops. Would any senator on the opposite side hazard a guess as to that number? Would he like to state how many men with muskets in their hands there are in the vast area I have named? Let me tell him! There are two thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven! Not one more.

"From the headwaters of the Mississippi River to the lakes, and down the great chain of lakes, and down the St. Lawrence, and down the valley of the St. John, and down the St. Croix, striking the Atlantic Ocean and following it down to Key West, around the Gulf, to the mouth of the Mississippi again, a frontier of eight thousand miles, either bordering on the ocean or upon foreign territory, is guarded by these 2,797 troops. Within this domain forty-five fortifications are manned and eleven arsenals protected. There are sixty troops to every million of people. In the South I have the entire number in each State and will give it.

"I believe the senator from Delaware [Mr. Bayard] has been alarmed, greatly alarmed, about the overriding of the popular ballot by troops of the United States! In Delaware there is not a single armed man, not one. The United States has not even one soldier in the State!

"The honorable senator from West Virginia [Mr. Hereford] on Friday last lashed himself into a passion, or at least into a perspiration, over the wrongs of his State, trodden down as he pictured it by the iron heel of military despotism. There is not a soldier of the United States, not one on the soil of West Virginia, and there has not been one for years.

"I do not know whether my esteemed friend from Maryland [Mr. Whyte] has been greatly disturbed or not; but at Fort McHenry, guarding the entrance to the beautiful harbor of his beautiful city of Baltimore, there are one hundred and ninety-two artillery-men and not another soldier on the soil of his State from the Chesapeake to the crest of the Alleghenies.

"In Virginia there is a school of practice at Fortress Monroe. My honorable friend who has charge of this bill [Mr. Withers] knows very well, and if he does not I will

tell him, that outside of that school of artillery practice at Fortress Monroe, which has two hundred and eightytwo men, there is not a Federal soldier on the soil of Virginia—not one.

"Are the senators from North Carolina frightened by the immediate and terrible prospect of being overrun by the Army of the United States? On the whole soil of North Carolina there are but thirty soldiers and they are guarding a fort at the mouth of Cape Fear River—just thirty.

"I do not see a senator on the floor from South Carolina. There are one hundred and twenty artillery-men guarding the approaches to Charleston Harbor—not another soldier on the soil of that State.

"Does my gallant friend from Georgia [Mr. Gordon], who knows better than I the force and strength of military organization, does he the senior senator, and does the junior also [Mr. Benjamin H. Hill]—does either of those senators feel alarm at the presence of twenty-nine Federal soldiers in Georgia?—There are just twenty-nine there—not one more! And they are guarding the entrance to the harbor of Savannah.

"Florida has one hundred and eighty-two at three separate posts, principally guarding the navy yard at Pensacola near which my friend on the opposite side [Mr. Jones] lives.

"Is the honorable senator from Tennessee [Mr. Bailey] oppressed with fear at the progress of military despotism in his State? There is not a single Federal soldier on the soil of Tennessee,—not one.

"I see both the honorable senators from Kentucky here. They have equal cause with Tennessee to be alarmed, for there is not a Federal soldier in Kentucky—not one!

"In Missouri there are a half-dozen guarding some arsenal stores!

"There are fifty-seven soldiers in Arkansas, on the boarders of the Indian Territory.

"I think my friend from Alabama [Mr. Morgan] is greatly excited over this question, and in his State there are thirty-two Federal soldiers, located at an arsenal of the United States.

"The State of Mississippi, that is in danger of being trodden under the iron hoof of military power, has not a Federal soldier on its soil.

"Louisiana has two hundred and thirty-nine guarding approaches from the sea.

"Texas, apart from the regiments that guard the frontier on the Rio Grande and the Indian frontier, has not one.

"The entire South has eleven hundred and fifty-five soldiers to intimidate, overrun, oppress, and destroy the liberties of fifteen million people, and rob them of freedom at the polls! In the Southern States there are twelve hundred and three counties. If you distribute the soldiers by counties there is not quite one for each county; and when I give the counties I give them from the census of 1870. If you distribute these soldiers territorially there is one for every seven hundred square miles, so that if you make a territorial distribution, I would remind the honorable senator from Delaware, that the quota for his State would be three—"one ragged sergeant and two abreast," as the old song has it. That is the formidable force ready to descend upon Delaware and destroy the liberties of the State.

"Mr. President, the old tradition has it, that the soothsayers of Rome could not look one another in the face without smiling. There are not two Democratic senators on this floor who can go into the cloak-room and look each other in the face without smiling at this talk, or more appropriately, I should say without blushing-the whole thing is such a prodigious and absolute farce, such a miserably manufactured false issue, such a pretense without the slightest foundation in the world, and talked about most and denounced the loudest in States that have not now and have not for years had a single Federal soldier within their boundaries. In New England we have three hundred and eighty soldiers. Throughout the South it does not run quite seventy to the million people. In New England we have absolutely one hundred and twenty soldiers to the million. New England is far more overrun to-day by the Federal soldiery, far more, than is the whole South. I never heard any one complain about it in New England, or express any great fear of his liberties being endangered by the presence of a handful of Federal troops.

"As I have said, the tendency of this talk is to give us a bad name in Europe. Republican institutions are looked. upon there with jealousy. Every misrepresentation, every slander, is exaggerated and talked about to our discredit, and the Democratic party of the country to-day stand indicted, and I here indict them, for public slander of their country, creating the impression in the civilized world that we are governed by a military despotism. How amazing it would be to any man in Europe, familiar as Europeans are with great armies, if he were told that in a territory larger than France and Spain and Portugal and Great Britian and Holland and Belgium and the German Empire all combined, there are but eleven hundred and fifty-five soldiers! That this mad cry, this false issue, this absurd talk is based upon the presence of eleven hundred and fifty-five soldiers on eight hundred

and fifty thousand square miles of territory! The whole number of soldiers thus complained of is not double the number of the Democratic police in the city of Baltimore, or in the city of New Orleans, not a third of the police in the city of New York. I repeat, the number indicts the Democracy; it shows the whole charge to be without foundation; it derides the issue as a false, scandalous and partisan makeshift.

"What then is the real motive underlying this move ment? Senators on that side, Democratic orators on the stump, cannot make any sensible set of men at the crossroads believe that there is danger in eleven hundred and fifty-five soldiers distributed over the South, one to each county. The moment you state it, everybody sees its palpable and laughable absurdity, and therefore we must go farther and find a motive for all this cry. It is not the troops; that is evident. There are more troops by flity per cent scattered through the Northern States cant of the Mississippi to-day than through the Southern States east of the Mississippi, and yet nobody in the North speaks of it; anybody would be laughed at for speaking of it; and therefore the issue on the troops, being a false one, conceals the true issue, which is simply to get rid of the Federal presence at Federal elections, to get rid of the civil power of the United States in the election of representatives to the Congress of the United States, That is the whole of it; and disguise it as you may them is nothing else in it or of it.

"The Democratic party simply wishes to get rid of the supervision by the Federal Government of the election of representatives to Congress through civil means; and therefore this bill connects itself directly with another bill, and you cannot discuss this military bill without discussing a bill which was before us last winter, known as the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill. I am well aware that it is not permissible for me to discuss a bill that is pending before the other House. I am aware that propriety and parliamentary rule forbid that I should. speak of what is done in the House of Representatives; but I know very well that I am not forbidden to speak of that which is not done in the House of Representatives I am therefore perfectly free to declare that neither this military bill nor the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill ever emanated from any committee of the House of Representatives; they are not the work of any committee of the House of Representatives, and, although the present House of Representatives is almost evenly balanced in party division, no solitary suggestion has been allowed to come from the minority of that House in regard to the shaping of these bills. Where do they come from? We are not left to infer; we are not even left to the Yankee privilege of guessing, because we know. The senator from Kentucky [Mr. Beck] obligingly told us-I have the exact words here-"that the honorable senator from Ohio [Mr. Thurman] was the chairman of a committee appointed by the Democratic party to see how it was best to present all these questions before us." Therefore when I discuss these two bills together I am violating no parliamentary law, I am discussing the offspring and the creation of the Democratic caucus of which the senator from Ohio is the chairman.

"We are told, too, a rather novel thing, that if we do not take these laws, we are not to have the appropriations. I believe it has been announced in both branches of Congress, I suppose on the authority of the Democratic caucus, that if we do not take these bills as they are planned, we shall not have any of the appropriations that go with them. The honorable senator from West Vir-

ginia [Mr. Hereford] avowed it on Friday; the honorable senator from Ohio [Mr. Thurman] avowed it last session; the honorable senator from Kentucky [Mr. Beck] avowed it at the same time, and I am not permitted to speak of the legions who proclaimed it in the other House. They say all these appropriations are to be refused—not merely the Army appropriation, for they do not stop at that. Look for a moment at the legislative bill that came from the Democratic caucus. Here is an appropriation in it for defraying the expenses of the Supreme Court and the Circuit and District Courts of the United States, including the District of Columbia, "\$2,800,000:" "provided "—provided what?

"That the following sections of the Revised Statutes, relation to elections [going on to recite them] be repealed."

"That is, you will pass an appropriation for the support of the Judiciary of the United States only on condition that something else, entirely disconnected from the Judiciary be repealed. We often speak of this Government being divided into three great departments, the Executive, the Legislative, and the Judicial-co-ordinate. independent, equal! The Legislative, under the control of a Democratic caucus, now steps forward and says. "We offer to the Executive this bill, and if he does not sign it, we are determined to starve the Judiciary." That is carrying the thing somewhat farther than I have ever known to be attempted. You do not merely propose to starve the Executive if he will not sign the bill, but you propose to starve the Judiciary that has had nothing whatever to do with the question. This has been boldly avowed here; this has been boldly avowed on the floor

of the other House; this has been boldly avowed in Democratic papers throughout the whole country.

"You propose not merely to starve the Judiciary but you declare that you will not appropriate a solitary dollar to take care of this Capitol. The men who take care of all this public property are provided for in the same bill. You say they shall not have a dollar of pay if the President will not agree to change the election laws.

"There is the public printing that goes on for the enlightenment of the whole country, and for printing the public documents of every one of the Departments. You say they shall not have a dollar for public printing unless the President agrees to repeal these laws which regulate the election of representatives in Congress.

"There is the Congressional Library that has become the pride of the whole American people for its magnificent growth and extent! You say it shall not have one dollar for its daily care, much less to add a new book, unless the President signs these bills.

"There is the Department of State which has been our pride throughout the history of the Government for the ability with which it has conducted our foreign affairs. It is also to be starved. You say we shall not have any intercourse with foreign nations, not a dollar shall be appropriated for ministers or consuls unless the President signs these bills.

"There is the Lighthouse Board that provides for the beacons and the warnings on seventeen thousand miles of sea and gulf and lake coast. You say those lights shall all go out, and not a dollar shall be appropriated for the Board if the President does not sign these bills, which a Democratic caucus has agreed upon, and demands that everybody else shall assent to.

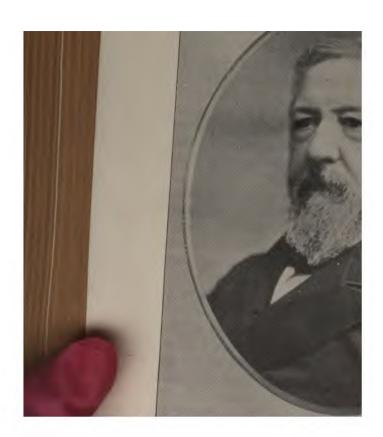
"There are the mints of the United States at Phila-

delphia, New Orleans, Denver, San Francisco, coining silver and coining gold. You declare that not a dollar shall be appropriated for them if the President does not sign these bills.

"There is the Patent Office, the patents issued by which embody the invention of the country—not a dollar for them. The Pension Bureau shall cease its operations unless these bills are signed, and patriotic soldiers may starve. The Agricultural Bureau, the Post-Office Department, every one of the great executive functions of the Government is threatened, taken by the throat, highwayman style, commanded to stand and deliver in the name of the Democratic Congressional caucus. No committee of this Congress in either branch has ever recommended this legislation—not one. Simply a Democratic caucus has done it.

"Of course this is new. We are learning something every day. I think you may search the records of the Federal Government in vain; it will take some one much more industrious in that search than I have ever been, and much more observant than I have ever been, to find any possible parallel or any possible suggestion in our history of such a thing. Many of the senators who sit in this Chamber can remember some extraordinary vetoes. The veto of the National Bank Bill by President Jackson in 1832, remembered by the oldest in this Chamber; the veto of the National Bank Bill in 1841 by President Tyler, remembered by those not the oldest, aroused a political excitement which up to that time had no parallel; and it was believed, whether rightfully or wrongfully is no matter, it was believed by those who advocated those financial measures at the time, that they were of the very first and the very last importance to the well being and prosperity of the people of the Union. It





stop until they have wiped out every vestige of every war measure. 'Forewarned is fore-armed,' and you begin appropriately on a measure that has the signature of Abraham Lincoln. It is significant to hear these words from a man who was then in arms against the Government of the United States, doing his best to destroy it, exerting all his power in a bloody and terrible rebellion against the authority of the United States, while Abraham Lincoln was marching at the same time to martyrdom in its defense! Strange times have fallen when those of us who had the great honor to be associated in higher or lower degree with Mr. Lincoln in the administration of the Government live to hear men in public life and on the floors of Congress, fresh from the battle-fields of the rebellion, threatening the people of the United States that the Democratic party, in power for the first time in eighteen years, proposes not to stay its hand until every vestige of the war measures has been wiped out! The Vice-President of the late confederacy boasted-perhaps I would better say stated—that for sixty out of the seventy-two years preceding the outbreak of the rebellion, from the foundation of the Government, the South, though in a minority, had, by combining with what he termed the 'anti-centralists' in the North, ruled the country; and in 1866 the same gentleman indicated in a speech, I think before the Legislature of Georgia, that by a return to Congress the South might repeat the experiment with the same successful result.

"I read that speech at the time, but I little thought I should live to see so near a fulfillment of its baleful prediction. I see here to-day two great measures emanating, as I have said, not from a committee of either House, but from a Democratic caucus in which the South has an overwhelming majority, two-thirds in the House, and out

of forty-two senators on the other side of this Chamber professing the Democratic faith, thirty are from the South -twenty-three, a positive and pronounced majority, having themselves been participants in the revolt against the Union either in military or civil station. As a matter of fact therefore the legislation of this country to-day, shaped and fashioned in a Democratic caucus where the confederates of the South hold the majority, is the realization of Mr. Stephen's prophecy. Very appropriately the House under that control and the Senate under that control. embodying thus the entire legislative powers of the Government, deriving its political strength from the South, elected from the South, say to the President of the United States, at the head of the Executive Department of the Government, elected by the whole people, but elected as a Northern man; elected on Republican principles, elected in opposition to the party that controls both branches of Congress to-day-they boldly say, ' You shall not exercise your Constitutional power to veto a bill.'

"Some gentleman may rise and say, 'Do you call it revolution to put an amendment on an appropriation bill?' Of course not. There have been a great many amendments put on appropriation bills, some mischievous and some harmless; but I call it the audacity of revolution for any senator or representative, or any caucus of senators or representatives, to get together and say, 'We will have this legislation or we will stop the great departments of the Government.' That is revolutionary. I do not think it will amount to revolution; my opinion is it will not. I think it is a revolution which will not revolve. But it is a revolution if persisted in, and if not persisted in, it must be retreated from with ignominy. The Democratic party in Congress have put themselves exactly in this position to-day, that if they go forward in the

announced programme, they march to revolution. I think they will, in the end, go backward into ignominious retreat. That is my judgment. I think it the judgment of all who observe the operation of general principles!

"The extent to which they control the legislation of the country is worth pointing out. In round numbers, the Southern people are about one-third of the population of the Union. I am not permitted to speak of the organization of the House of Representatives, but I can refer to that of the last House. In the last House of Representatives, of the forty-two standing committees the South had twenty-five. I am not blaming the honorable Speaker for it. He was hedged in by partisan forces, and could not avoid it. In this very Senate, out of thirty-four standing committees the South has twenty-two. I am not calling these things up at this time in reproach; I am only showing what an admirable prophet was the vice-president of the late Southern confederacy, how entirely true all his words have been, and how he has lived to see them realized.

"I do not profess to know, Mr. President, least of all senators on this floor, certainly as little as any senator on this floor, do I profess to know, what the President of the United States will do when these bills are presented to him as I suppose in due course of time they will be. I certainly should never speak a word of disrespect of the gentleman holding that exalted position, and I hope I should not speak a word unbefitting the dignity of the office of a senator of the United States. But as there has been speculation here and there on both sides as to what he would do, I should expect that the dead heroes of the Union would rise from their graves sooner than he should consent to be intimidated and outraged in his proper Constitutional power by threats like these!

"All the war measures of Abraham Lincoln are to be wiped out, say leading Democrats! The Bourbons of France busied themselves, after the restoration, in removing every trace of Napoleon's power and grandeur, even chiseling the "N" from public monuments raised to perpetuate his glory; but the dead man's hand from St. Helena reached out and destroyed them in their pride and in their folly. Let the senators on the other side of this Chamber remember—let the Democratic party North and South remember, that the tomb of the martyred President on the prairies of Illinois is not less sacred or less potent with the American people than was the dust of Napoleon to the France that he loved! Though dead, the Great President speaketh.

"When you present these bills with these threats to the living President, who bore the commission of Abraham Lincoln and served with honor in the Army of the Union which Lincoln restored and preserved, I can think of only one appropriate response from his lips or his pen:

"Is thy servant a dog that he should do this thing?"

This stormy extra session of the Forty-sixth Congress did not adjourn till July 1, 1879. Amid its exciting scenes, Mr. Blaine found occasion to deliver an able and lengthy speech upon the question of "National sovereignty," it being in the nature of a defence of Daniel Webster's views upon the Constitution and the Union, which Democratic Senators, among them Senator Eaton of Connecticut, had striven to prevent. He thoroughly exposed the Democratic claim that Mr. Webster had ever recanted any of his early doctrines respecting the nature of our Government, or had ever inclined toward the heresy of State Rights, and he quite turned the tables on

Mr. Eaton by showing that he had been using as authority for his statements a work whose author was Alexander H. Stephens, Vice President of the Southern Confederacy.

It was in this year of 1879 that Mr. Blaine gave to the country another instance of his coolness and sagacity as a party leader in circumventing the Democratic plot to steal the State government of Maine in 1879. With every advantage of party machinery, they began the high-handed operation of counting out the legally elected Republican members of the Legislature. The outrage was so flagrant that the Republicans saw no resort but open, armed resistance. Blaine counseled peace, and relied on the ability of his friends, who had nothing but right on their side, to arouse a public sentiment by exposure of the plot. This exposure came with telling effect. It threw the enemy into confusion, and entangled them in a web of contradictions from which there was no rescue except by appeal to the Supreme Court. The final arbitrament gave the Republicans control of the Halls of Legislation and assured them their status and their rights. Thus a situation provocative of blood and dangerous to civil and political rights was turned into one of peace and safety, by his judicious management.

The first regular session of the Forty-sixth Congress opened Dec. 1, 1879. Mr. Blaine now witnessed the triumph of specie resumption to which he had contributed so much by voice and pen, and the President made the consummation an important part of one of the ablest messages he had yet delivered. During this session the Democrats renewed their hostility to the army appropriations and added their obnoxious "rider" prohibiting the use of troops for the purpose of keeping the peace at the polls. The bill was again vetoed, and they were forced to

modify their revolutionary policy, the constitutionality of the original bills which they sought to nullify having been affirmed by the Supreme Court.

During this session Mr. Blaine occupied a still more commanding place as Senator, and there was little legislation of moment which did not bear his impress. On Jan. 28, 1880, he delivered an impressive and scholarly eulogy upon Senator Chandler. It took rank with the best that was said upon the resolutions of respect to the memory of the distinguished statesmen, and attracted wide attention as a presentment of Mr. Blaine's command of pathos and ability to weigh political character.

During 1879 there had been a remarkable exodus of the colored population of the South which gave rise to much discussion in Congress and in the journals of the land. A general sentiment was awakened in their favor, and it was thought that the time had come for a more liberal treatment of them in matters of education, contracts and civil rights. Mr. Blaine was a valuable contributor to the literature of this important subject, and his articles in the North American Review, begun March. 1880, upon the question of Ought the "Negro to be Disfranchised" and "Ought he to have been Enfranchised," were among the ablest of a series published in that magazine at the time, the other contributors being, L. Q. C. Lamar. Wade Hampton, James A. Garfield, Alexander H. Stephens, Wendell Phillips, Montgomery Blair and Thomas A. Hendricks. Mr. Blaine was accorded the opening and closing of the controversy. His concluding article was even more masterly than his opening one, and its logic was so strong and comprehensive as to bear down like an irresistible torrent upon all that had been set up by his opponents.

Mr. Blaine was now ending the end of his brilliant and useful senatorial career. The session of the Forty-sixth Congress, which ended June 16, 1880, thrust him into the excitement of the Presidential campaign—a campaign which he had sought to enter as a candidate, but which he could only support and grace as a lieutenant in the field of oratory. However it was not to be barren of results for him. Garfield's success meant the premiership for Blaine.

The second session of the Forty-sixth Congress opened Dec. 6, 1880. This session was to end Mr. Blaine's senatorial career. He was, as ever, an active participant in the business of the session, and signalized his efforts by an able speech in reply to Senator Beck of Kentucky, in which he opposed the admission of foreign built ships to American register free of duty, and took high ground for the encouragement of American ship-building, and the revival of American commerce on the ocean. magnificent speech was so much in accord with what had been Mr. Blaine's general policy of commercial advancement, and so clearly foreshadowed the expansion of that policy into something broader and more advantageous, that any history of his political career must be imperfect without it. It was delivered on Jan. 27, 1881, and ran as follows:-

"MR. PRESIDENT,—If the Senate will indulge me I would be glad to speak very briefly on the various points suggested by the senator from Kentucky [Mr. Beck], who has just closed a remarkable speech. I should not like to have such a speech as he has delivered go out from the Senate of the United States unanswered even for a single day, and I propose, therefore, to review his position, at least in part. I regret that I am compelled to

speak without preparation, with no data except such as I recall from memory.

"The first observation I desire to make is that the honorable senator from Kentucky frankly admits that the policy he advocates looks to a permanent dependence of the United States upon England for ships. The only and slight attempt that the senator made to rebut the conclusion was in the faint hope expressed by him that the repair-shops which would spring up on this side of the water might develop into machine-shops and shipyards large enough and numerous enough to construct steam-vessels; but throughout the entire argument of the senator he went upon the presumption, which I repeat he did not even attempt himself to rebut, that his policy proclaimed a permanent dependence of this country upon England for a merchant marine. I do not believe the Senate of the United States or the Congress of the United States or the people of the United States are ready to approve that policy.

"It is a remarkable fact that for the past twenty-five years—or make it only for the past twenty years, from the beginning of the war to this hour—the Congress of the United States has not done one solitary thing to uphold the navigation interests of the United States. Decay has been observed going steadily on from year to year. The great march forward of our commercial rival of old has been everywhere recognized, and the representatives of the people of the United States have sat in their two houses of legislation as dumb as though they could not speak, and have not offered aid or suggested remedy. This has gone on until now the honorable senator from Kentucky rises in his seat and proposes to make a proclamation of perpetual future dependence upon England for such shipping as we may require, holding up to us as

models Germany, Italy, and the other European countries that are as absolutely dependent upon Great Britain for their steamships as the District of Columbia is upon Congress for its legislation.

"During these years, in which Congress has not stepped forward to do one thing for the carrying-trade of the country, for all that vast external transportation whose importance the senator from Kentucky has not exaggerated but has strongly depicted, the same Congress has passed ninety-two acts in aid of internal transportation by rail, has given 200,000,000 acres of the public lands, worth today a thousand million dollars in money, and has added \$70,000,000 in cash, and yet, I repeat, it has scarcely extended the aid of a single dollar to build up our foreign commerce. An energetic and able man* who found a great ocean highway unoccupied, and had the enterprise to put American vessels of the best construction and great power upon it, has been held up to scorn and to reproach because he came to the American Congress and said, "If you will do for this enterprise what the Emperor of Brazil will do, I will give you a great line of steamships from New York to Rio Janeiro." The Emperor of Brazil had said to this enterprising man, "My Government will pay you a hundred thousand dollars a year if you will establish and maintain this line;" and New England senators, I regret to say, senators who represent the protective system of this country, remarked with quiet complacency, "If Brazil is willing to pay for the line, we need not." Brazil naturally enough has got tired paying all and we paying none. Just as soon as it was found that we would not pay, a combination of English shipbuilders said, "We will put on our ships and run that

^{*}John Roach of New York, an Irishman by birth, long a citizen of the United States; a man of remarkable ability, energy and integrity.

absolutely free of duty, we shall be still more incompetent to do it next year. It requires, in the language of the trade, a great "plant" to build steamships. It requires a large investment of money, numerous machine-shops and powerful machinery. If in addition to what has been done abroad to build up English ship-yards we now pour into them all the patronage from this country, I should like the honorable senator from Kentucky or any other senator to tell me exactly at what point of time it will come to pass that any feeble effort on this side will begin to compete with those great British ship-yards. If you abandon ship-building this year because you are unable, you will be far more unable next year, you will be still less able the year ensuing, and every year will add to the monopoly of British power in that respect and to the absolute weakness and prostration of American power in competion. But the frank admission by the honorable senator from Kentucky of the future and perpetual dependence upon England removes the necessity of arguing that point. He admits it with all its damaging force.

"Mr. President, fas est ab hoste doceri. Great Britain has been our great commercial rival. How has she succeeded? Since the first Cunard steamship sailed into Boston Harbor, now about forty years ago, down to the close of 1878, Great Britain had paid from her treasury to aid her steamship lines a sum exceeding forty million pounds sterling—more than two hundred millions of American dollars. She began this policy with great wisdom at the moment she foresaw that the steamship was to play so commanding a part in the navigation of the great oceans. I know it is a favorite argument with those who occupy the position of the honorable senator from Kentucky that Great Britain started upon the plan of subsidizing her ocean lines, and followed it for a long period of years, and after-

the same mode that has addieved victory for France. What is it? It is not to help it B or CD or E F or anybody else by name, neither Mr. John Roads, nor Mr. John Doe nor Mr. Richard Roe, but to make a great and comprehensive policy that shall give to every company a pledge of sid from the Government of so much per until for such a term of years. Let the donotions muschants feel that the Government of the United States is behind them. Let the United States take from her drammery par annum the four millions of dollars that Great British is paying as a postseript to her \$200,000,000 of inventment; let the United States but take \$4,000,000 per annumand that is not a great sum for this opulent country dat that be used as a fund to stimulate steamship companies from any port of the United States to any foreign port on the globe, and I venture to predict that you will ace that long deferred, much desired event, the covival of the American merchant marine.

"Let us do one thing more where England has pointed the way for us. We have nine navy-yards, without a navy. If we will put the expense of those navy-yards into the building up of great private ship-yards, it will form subsidy enough—if that hated word will not offend the delicate ears of my friend from Kentucky—it will afford aid enough, if that be more to has taste; it will give help enough, in conjunction with the saving on the construction of naval vessels, to carry out a comprehensive scheme for the revival of American navigation.

"We not only withhold our bands from any aid to the American merchant marine, but we keep up the shadow of a shell of a navy on the most expensive basis possible. Great Britain I believe never band more than three navy-yards for all her vast work of construction and repair.

We support nine navy-yards. The navy of Great Britain is fifteen times as large really, as ours is nominally.

"Mr. President, we have the largest ocean frontage of any nation on the globe. We front all continents. We border the two great oceans, the greatest of gulfs on the South, the Artic Sea beyond the Straits of Behring. We are necessarily by our position in need of a navy.

"The honorable senator from Kentucky has apparently given this subject wide and deep attention; and I shall be glad to be informed at his own convenience how, after he has brought this country to a state of absolute dependence upon Great Britain for our mercantile marine, he proposes to uphold our navy, how he proposes to build the vessels, where he will be able to secure his ship-carpenters? I do not speak of the sailors; we can hire them from the outside world. But how does he propose to retain among our people the art of building ocean-going steamers when his policy absolutely transfers the whole of the business at once to English ship-yards?

"I do not expect this Congress to do any thing. I am not talking with the slightest hope of success. But I know success will come sometime. I know that the scheme of the honorable senator from Kentucky, even if Congress should adopt it, would disappoint everybody. It would disappoint everybody except the English shipbuilder. It would not disappoint him. Yet I venture to say it would not be followed as the honorable senator thinks by large American investments in British ships.

"It opens no possible temptation to a man desiring to invest in navigation to say to him, "You may go abroad, to England, and buy a vessel and bring her to New York and we will allow you to register her at the custom-house, and you may float the American flag."—"No, I thank you," the shrewd invester replies. "If I do that I shall

have more taxation than I shall have in Liverpool or Bristol. I prefer to keep the registry over there," just as the Williams & Guion line does. There are men in New York deriving dividends from that line just as there are men in Philadelphia deriving dividends from the Philadelphia line that is partly made up of British vessels. The very moment you disconnect the idea of a National marine and the building of it here, the very moment you put it down on the simple basis of dollars and cents, regardless of any thing American in it, then there is no temptation whatever, and you offer no extra inducement by saying that the vessel may be registered here, not the slightest in the world, and it would not be done. When the senator from Kentucky holds up the brilliant prospect that the repair-shops might be the germ of a future marine, he abandons, in effect if not in intention, all idea of building ships on this side of the water.

"This subject, Mr. President, never can be considered and decided intelligently, as ultimately it must be, without taking into account the naval establishment of the United States and the mercantile marine of the United States at the same time. The naval establishment must be the outgrowth of the mercantile marine, just as it always has been, just as it always will be: and where you have no mercantile marine out of which to grow a navy, you will have no navy. As recently as the beginning of the late war the maritime States of this Union were able to provide, in that great struggle, seven thousand competent officers of the various grades of the volunteer navy, and to put on the decks of the blockading fleet seventy thousand American sailors. The senator from Kentucky said, and I think justly, that too much had been made or attempted to be made out of the fact that a few vessels had been kaken by blockade-runners and destroyed, and others frightened into registry abroad; and that many were dating the downfall of the American mercantile marine from that cause. That was indeed one cause, but I agree with the senator that it was not by any means the principal cause. I agree with him that it was a coincident cause merely.

"Another cause was set in operation about that time of which the commercial world at least has taken great heed. Up to that date steam-vessels had not been good freighters. The side-wheel steamer that did business between this country and Europe was not a great carryingvessel; she required too much coal; her engine took up too much space. But in the midst of our war, by a succession of inventions-partly American and partly British -there was a complete revolution effected in ocean-going steamers, and that revolution can best be described by stating this formula:-prior to that date a vessel of 3,000 tons on a voyage of given length had to make 2,200 tons allowance for coal and machinery, and only 800 tons for freight. while now it is precisely reversed, and they can take 800 tons only for coal and machinery and 2,200 tons for freight. This is the revolution of which Great Britain has had the advantage and it is often confused with that other cause from which we suffered by reason of the war. But the senator from Kentucky is correct in stating that the destruction of the vessels during the civil struggle, large as it was estimated at the time and grievous as was the calamity to individuals and to the country, was not the great principal cause which brought about the revolution from sailing-vessels to the steam-marine.

"The carrying capacity of an ocean-going steamer is something surprising to men who have not examined it. The first steamer of the John Roach line, so called—and the steamers are by no means as large as those of the



RUTHERFORD B, HAYES.

(4)

Cunard and White Star lines sailing between Liverpool and New York—the very first steamer that sailed from New York to Rio, besides an assorted cargo, which in a manifest would seem to be more than could be put in the hold of the vessel, carried also twenty thousand barrels of flour. It seems almost incredible when you think of the freight-cars which that cargo would require if carried by rail. The freight of two hundred cars, one hundred barrels to the car, was placed in the hold of that vessel. It is in this respect that these vessels have gained so enormously in the carrying-trade.

"It is idle to fight against the inventions of the world: is is idle for us to fold our arms and suppose that wooden vessels are to maintain the importance they have hitherto held in the commerce of the world. I think I understand something of that subject. I have the honor to be from the State that has built more ocean-going wooden vessels than all the rest of this Union beside, I believe. With in thirty miles of my own residence is a town of only ten thousand people which is the largest wooden shipbuilding place on the globe to-day. While the days of wooden ships are by no means over, while they will be a great and needful auxiliary to the steamers of iron and steel engaged in the commerce of the world, yet it is manifest, is indeed already proven, that the great highways of international commerce, such as the North Atlantic, the West India seas, the routes from our Pacific coast to South America, to Asia and to Australia, will be occupied, and occupied almost to the exclusion of sailing vessels, by ocean steamers. The people of the United States can take a great part in that race; they can take a great part in it whenever they make up their mind that the instrumentality by which England conquered is the one which they must use; they can take it whenever they make up their minds that a mercantile marine and a naval establishment must grow and go together hand in hand, and that the Congress of the United States is derelict in its duty if it passes another naval appropriation bill without accompanying it with some wise and forecasting provision looking also to the upbuilding of the American merchant marine.

"What the honorable senator from Kentucky was pleased to say in regard to the protective system and its horrible crimes I have no time to answer. The unfortunate venture which was made in the late campagin on that subject had its origin in Kentucky; and if the honorable senator is merely trying to gloss over the remarkable blunder that somehow or other crept into the Cincinnati platform through the agency of a brilliant Kentuckian I have no special desire to reply to him. I concede to him, rather I think he will concede to me, that politically it was a blunder, and all the efforts of the distinguished military hero who ran as the candidate of the Democratic party to get back to the protection platform only ended in making that which was before serious end in a half farce.

"Mr. President, I say to the upholders of protection—and the election showed that the overwhelming public opinion of this country is interested in keeping up American manufactures against foreign manufactures—I say to them that Protection cannot be permanently maintained without building up the commercial marine of this country. If any of the gibes and taunts which the senator from Kentucky so freely distributed to the manufacturing interests of the country in his remarks shall come to the notice of and shall arouse the men in New England and elsewhere who are enjoying the benefits of a protective tariff, to the necessity of extending the strong arm of

the Government to the upbuilding of its commercial marine, then those gibes and taunts will not have been addressed in vain, and I for one shall thank the honorable senator from Kentucky for that portion of his elaborate speech.

"Mr. BECK. . . . I do not propose to answer now any of the political suggestions of the senator from Maine. I approved the plank, as I always have done, of a tariff for revenue. Mr. Watterson was right: it is true, honest, Democratic doctrine. In 1876, when the convention met at St. Louis, there was a plank in the Democratic platform stronger and more earnest than that inserted at Cincinnati in 1880, and we carried the country on it, although we were cheated out of the Presidency. . . . Nor do I propose to interfere with the coastwise trade of the country, which is to-day sixty per cent. of all we have, and is a monopoly absolute, so much so that the shipbuilders and ship-owners of Maine and elsewhere, all along our coasts on the Atlantic, the Pacific, and the Gulf, can charge our own people what they please without interference so far as foreign nations are concerned. I am content that they may have it, and sixty per cent. of all we have in the shipping business seems to me to be monopoly enough; even that is all wrong on principle. . . .

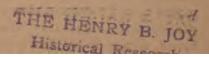
Mr. Blaine. Mr. President, the senator from Kentucky has dwelt at considerable length upon the monopoly of the coasting-trade which is enjoyed by the United States. He ought to know, and certainly does know, that the United States has been industriously engaged for the last twenty-five years in breaking down the coasting-trade. When the United States paid \$70,000,000 in constructing a railway across the continent, more than half of the profit of the coasting-trade of this country was

taken away, and the railways that have gone along the coast and up and down in various directions have reduced the coasting-trade of this country to a minimum as compared with what it was twenty-five or thirty years ago. The great nest of commerce which the honorable senator thinks he leaves in the monopoly of the coasting-trade has been removed by the railway system which the Government of the United States has built up with a subsidy ten times as large as that which is now required for the revival of the foreign carrying-trade.

"When the honorable senator from Kentucky desires that the steamships which are to do the traffic of this country shall be built abroad, he forgets an important fact, of the deepest interest to the laboring-man of America; viz., that if you build a ship worth \$500,000, there is less than \$5,000 of raw material in her, while more than \$495,000 is paid for labor. The senator from Kentucky is therefore proposing legislation that will take this enormous employment of labor to the other side of the ocean, and expend large sums in foreign countries that should be paid to American mechanics at home. He forgets also that every steamship during the period of her service gives work to as large a number of men on shore as she does at sea. All this labor the bonorable senator proposes to employ on the other side of the ocean. For adding to the commercial importance and the absolute monopoly of the British marine, we can safely trust the senator from Kentucky to suggest the most comprehensive and certain plan.

"The honorable senator, in the early part of his remarks, in maintaining that our ship-owners were handicapped by our Navigation Laws, said in illustration of his position that in Kentucky, where they raise and run fine horses, a man would be considered a fool to put one hundred and fifty pounds on the back of a race-horse against one that was running with only one hundred and ten. Oh, no, the senator from Kentucky does not propose to do that at all! He simply proposes to withdraw the American horse from the race."

In concluding Mr. Blaine's senatorial career the student of political history may well stand amazed at the amount of work he accomplished on a plain far above that occupied by the average senator. Scarcely a leading question escaped his attention and on all he touched he threw a flood of learning and light. In its distinction his career was well nigh exceptional, and quite so if we consider that it was comparatively brief. His fame kept constantly advancing, and this even though he was a constant object of attack by enemies who envied his talents and feared his abilities. It must also be borne in mind that this part of Mr. Blaine's career overlapped the period of his presidential aspirations, when he had to contend with the ambitions of men within his own party and the opposition of cliques and rings formed in the interest of political competitors. Yet nothing subtracted from Mr. Blaine's fidelity to his party or its measures, nothing dimmed his popularity or impaired his usefulness as a statesman. He grew in national esteem, adhered to his habits of thought and work, rounded out his active political career as perfectly as if he had never made known his aspirations for higher place or had never suffered disappointment at the hands of a national convention of his party.



CHAPTER XIV.

THE CONVENTION OF 1876.

THE troubles in the South and the almost universal overthrow of the prevailing, or "Carpetbag," State governments, led to the belief that the presidential campaign of 1876 would be an exceedingly close one. The Greenback party bade fair to be an important factor in the North, and a source of weakness to both parties. It was in the field as early as May 17th with its nominees. Grant had been spoken of by the Republicans for a third term, but so pronounced was the sentiment against this that the House of Representatives and a Republican State Convention in Pennsylvania declared that a third term for President would be against the "unwritten law" and the traditions. His name was not presented to the Republican Convention, which assembled in Cincinnati on June 14, 1876.

We have already enumerated the conditions and events which pointed to James G. Blaine as the coming candidate of his party for the Presidency in 1876. His popularity and strength with the masses was phenomenal. His reputation as a Statesman was of the highest order. Perhaps he was too independently organized to attach that importance to party discipline and to the use of definite machinery which is not without its effect, and is sometimes necessary, in order to insure success in political conventions, especially those of a national type. Yet there gathered about him a numerous band of admiring

and faithful lieutenants, who had been active in all the States and to whom he might well entrust his political fortunes. As sentiment chystalized within the Republican ranks preparatory to the National Convention of 1876, it became clear that Mr. Blaine would have, as his strongest opponents in the Convention, Oliver P. Morton, B. H. Bristow, Roscoe Conkling, John F. Hartranft, and Rutherford B. Hayes, nearly all of whom claimed to have solid State delegations at their back, under what was known as the "unit rule" of voting, that is, voting the States solidly, where a majority of the delegates so willed, instead of permitting each individual delegate to vote his preference. With all this array of strength and talent against him, Mr. Blaine had still a most decided lead, certainly so far as the sentiment of his party was concerned, and assuredly so, provided the delegates chosen were not denied the right to give individual expression of their choice.

Thus matters shaped up until a short time before the Convention, when the Democratic House of Representatives began to give its investigation a turn personal to Mr. Blaine, and to open the flood-gates of abuse in the shape of the "Mulligan Letters," and the inuendoes and falsehoods which accompanied them. We have already seen how promptly and manfully Mr. Blaine met all those charges and how fully he vindicated himself at the bar of honest public opinion. It is doubtful if they served the purpose of changing the course of any of Mr. Blaine's adherents, so prompt and complete was his refutation of them. But they may have affected what might have become the general polity of the Convention in case of a close ballot. Had things taken such shape as that, the nomination being in doubt, Mr. Blaine's candidacy should have resolved itself into one of expediency.

unparalled steadfastness with which they have adhered to me in my hour of trial. J. G. BLAINE."

The Sixth National Convention of the Republican party opened at Cincinnati on June 14, 1876. The attendance was greater than at any previous National Convention, and the excitement ran higher. The attendance embraced the most noted men in the Republican ranks, and there were many colored representatives from the South. Ex-Governor Morgan called the Convention to order in an interesting speech, and nominated Hon. Theo. M. Pomeroy, of N. Y., as temporary chairman. Hon. Edward McPherson, of Penna., was made permanent chairman. The policy of Mr. Blaine's supporters was to break the "unit rule," as it was known that there were many Blaine delegates in the States which proposed to vote their delegations entire. The chairman took the earliest opportunity which presented itself to decide against the binding force of the "unit rule," and to assert the liberty of each delegate to vote as he pleased. The Convention sustained this ruling, on an appeal.

On the second day of the Convention the platform was adopted, and upon a call of States the nominations were made. Those placed in nomination were Hon. Marshall Jewell, Conn.; Oliver P. Morton, Ind.; Benjamin H. Bristow, Ky.; Roscoe Conkling, N. Y.; Rutherford B. Hayes, O.; Jno. F. Hartranft, Pa.; and James G. Blaine, Me. The most thrilling event of the Convention was the nomination of Blaine by Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, who carried with him, for the moment, friend and foe, by his fervid eloquence. As he walked up the aisle, the Convention lost itself in vociferous cheers, and in a forest of waving hats and handkerchiefs. Time and again the waves of sound rolled over the floor of the Convention and up through the galleries, to be returned—with deafening

ple of the United States have the industry to make the money and the honesty to pay it over just as fast as they make it. The Republicans of the United States demand a man who knows that prosperity and resumption when they come must come together. When they come they will come hand in hand; hand in hand through the golden harvest-fields; hand in hand by the whirling spindle and the turning wheel; hand in hand by the open furnace-doors, hand in hand by the flaming forges, hand in hand by the chimneys filled with eager fire by the hands of the countless sons of toil. This money has got to be dug out of the earth. They cannot make it by passing resolutions at a political meeting. The Republicans of the United States want a man who knows that this Government should protect every citizen at home and abroad; who knows that every government that will not defend its defenders and will not protect its protectors is a disgrace to the mass of the world. They demand a man who believes in the eternal separation of church and the schools. They demand a man whose political reputation is spotless as a star, but they do not demand that their candidate shall have a certificate of moral character signed by a Confederate Congress. The man who has in full habit and rounded measure all of these splendid qualifications is the present grand and gallant leader of the Republican party, James G. Blaine. Our country, crowned with the vast and marvellous achievements of its first century, asks for a man worthy of its past, prophetic of its future-asks for a man who has the audacity of geniusasks for a man who is the grandest combination of heart, conscience, and brains beneath the flag. That man is James G. Blaine. For the Republican host, led by that intrepid man, there can be no defeat. This is a grand year-a year filled with the recollections of the Revolu-

tion; filled with proud and tender memories of the sacred past; filled with the legends of liberty; a year in which the sons of Freedom will drink from the fountains of enthusiasm; a year in which the people call for a man who has preserved in Congress what our soldiers won upon the field; a year in which we call for the man that has torn from the throat of treason the tongue of slander: a man that has snatched the mask of democracy from the hideous face of rebellion; a man who, like an intellectual athlete, stood in the arena of debate, challenged all comers, and who up to this moment is a total stranger to defeat. Like an armed warrior, like a plumed knight, James G. Blaine marched down the halls of the American Congress and threw his shining lances full and fair against the brazen forehead of every defamer of his country and maligner of its honor. For the Republican party to desert that gallant man now is worse than if an army should desert their general on the field of battle. James G. Blaine is now and has been for years the bearer of the sacred standard of the Republic. I call it sacred because no human being can stand beneath its folds without becoming and without remaining free. Gentlemen of the Convention, in the name of the great Republic-the only Republic that ever existed upon this earth—in the name of all her defenders and all her supporters; in the name of all her soldiers living, in the name of all her soldiers who died upon the field of battle, and in the name of those that perished in the skeleton clutch of famine at Andersonville and Libby-whose sufferings he so eloquently remembers-Inmois mominates for the next President of this country that princen of parliamentarians, that leader of leaders, James G. Bladne."

The speech was followived by a tornado of applause, in which even those opposted to Mr. Blaine's nomination

spantaneously joined. Carl Schurz came to Mr. Ingersoll and congratulated him upon his masterly effort, saying, "It was the most beautiful speech I ever heard." "Senator," replied Ingersoll, "I could not have made that speech for another man. If what I said was effective, it was because I meant it. Every word I said of James G. Blaine was true, and I felt it." "There is no difficulty," rejoined Schurz, "in seeing that you are a Blaine man." Mr. Ingersoll's nomination of Blaine was ably seconded in speeches by Hon. M. Turner, Ga., and Hon. Wm. B. Fry, Me.

On the third and last day of the Convention the balloting took place amid intense excitement. The vote for Blaine, upon the first ballot, exceeded the expectation of his friends. It rose on the second ballot and then fluctuated till the break came in the sixth ballot when it rose to 308. It was now manifest that the seventh ballot would be effectual, and that the situation would be Blaine against the field. He made steady gains on this last ballot till Indiana was called. The chairman of the delegation withdrew the name of Morton and cast twenty votes for Hayes. This determined the character of the coalition and the direction of the break. Hayes received 384 votes as against 351 for Blaine, and was declared the nominee of the convention.

The result was a sad disappointment to the friends of Mr. Blaine throughout the country. He, however, took the matter philosophically, at once gave his adhesion to the choice of the party, and entered the campaign as enthusiastically as if his aspirations had not met with a check. He visited many States where his voice was heard in eloquent appeal and forcible argument for his party, and he was all the more admired for forgetfulness of self in the noble stand he took for his party and country.

SUMMARY OF BALLOTS AT CONVENTION OF 1876.

	1st ballot.	2d ballot.	3d ballot.	4th ballot,	5th ballot.	Seh ballot.	7th ballot.
Hayes	61 285	64 296	67 293	68	104 286	113	384
Morton	125 113	120	113	108 126	95 114	85 111	***
Bristow	99	93		84	82	81	21
Hartranft	58	63	68	71	69	100	
Jewell Wm. A. Wheeler	3	WILL	lara 9	wn.	9	0	***
Elihu B. Washburne		1	1	3	3	5	
Whole number of votes	754	754	755	754	755	755	756
Necessary to choice	378	378	378	378	378	378	379

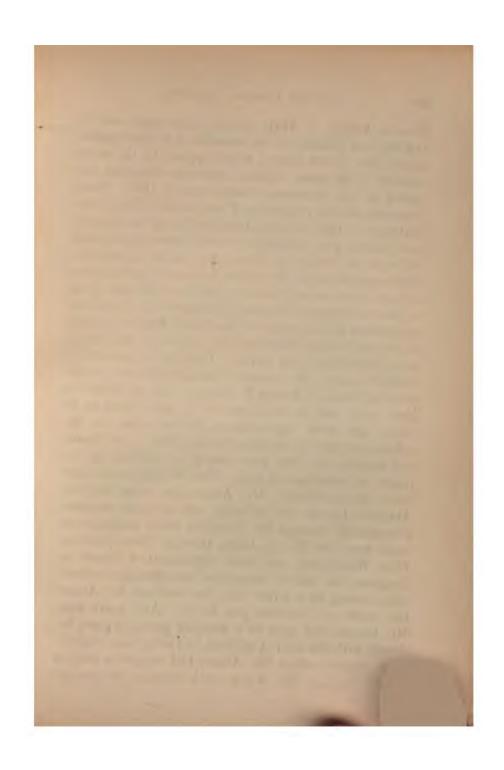
If anything Mr. Blaine did his most effective work in the State of Ohio during the campaign. It was the home of the candidate, and the spot which demanded the best efforts of the party leaders. He was greeted everywhere with large and enthusiastic audiences and his canvass was quite like a series of personal ovations. As a type of his efforts we reproduce a part of his first Ohio speech, delivered at Warren, Sept. 24, to an audience of 10,000 people assembled from the surrounding country.

"Now," said he, "I have something to say of Mr. Tilden, regarding his position on specie payments. After seeking to place a Democratic character in your own view, he immediately begins to call you a liar and other complimentary names. The Democrats say the Constitution forbids the payment of rebel claims. Now the Constitution does forget the payment of two classes of claims. You shall not make any appropriation to pay the rebel debt, nor for the slaves that were emancipated. The Constitution in one clause of the fourteenth amendment undoubtedly says that. I will not stop to argue that, though I think even this may be got round, but I will ac-

knowledge that those gateways are closed. I will admit there is no danger of any money being paid for the rebel debt, or for the slaves that were emancipated. But inside of that, gentlemen, there is nothing in the Constitution that forbids the payment for all the articles that were destroyed down South during the war; all the wild destruction that followed the war; all the houses, the fences, the school-houses, churches, towns, and the wheat and the corn, and the bacon, and mules and horses, the railroads, bridges, and culverts, and a thousand and one nameless sources of loss are all payable to-day if you can get a majority in Congress to vote the money. There is nothing in the world to prevent it. How do you know that any of them are going to be paid? They have very nearly 200 bills now piled up. I have seen it stated at 140, but it is very nearly 200, and of every imaginable thing. For the number of these bills you have the testimony of Hon. Wm. Lawrence, a careful, painstaking, industrious man. He is moderate in his statements and has carefully examined, and from his experience—for he is more competent than any other man in the House-he said that those already filed would involve the payment of from four to seven hundred million dollars from the national treasury. in the event of a majority of the House voting them. Well, the War Claims Committee of the House sat, and, as I said, Judge Lawrence, of Bellefontaine, was chairman, and they had it as a rule that a man must first establish his loyalty before establishing his claim. The first thing that committee did when the Democrats got control of it was to strike out that requirement and let any man put in his claim for losses without regard to the question of loyalty at all. And then another rule which certainly the lawyers, if there be any doing me the honor to listen to me now, will look upon as remarkable, that any person lawyers again—confirming the judgment obtained against Neal Dow, of the 13th Me. regiment in Louisiana, giving judgment to the rebel against Dow personally for the sugar seized on his plantation by a foraging party from his regiment. They were out foraging and seized some sugar, and the man sued for it. And Dow said, "If you are a loyal man we will give you a receipt, and you will easily get your pay for it." Now the sugar was used and a large part of it sent to the hospitals. Dow says, "If you will show me your loyalty I will give you a receipt for it," and he declined to do it, and got judgment in a Louisiana court. The U. S. Circuit Court at Portland affirmed that judgment and ordered execution to issue for \$1,750. That being so, I say, gentlemen, will it not enable the man that owned the field at Appomattox to collect ground-rent from Grant for the occupancy of it and the destruction of the fences and crops? There has never been so menacing a cloud as this hanging over a free people. More than that, this decision was warmly dissented from by Judge Clark, of New Hampshire. He was brought up in the true faith, but the Supreme Court overruled him in the person of Clifford. Clifford is an ingrained, hungry Democrat; double-dyed and twisted; dyed in the wool and coarse wool at that [much laughter], and, in my judgment, he has carried that case for eight years, and never offered that decision until he in his ignorance believed in a Democratic triumph. If there should be a Democratic dreamer here, will not that gentleman tell me why any solitary battallion or division of the army in the South cannot be sued for every article of trespass? [Laughter.]

"Let me read to you of the nature of the case. Ex-Governor Wood, of Vermont, a man of as pure character

his counsel. I shall speak from the record and by the record. After the Republican victory in 1860, which resulted in the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency, Mr. Adams, then a Representative in Congress from Massachusetts, sought with all his influence to deprive the country of everything that had been gained by the struggle. If anything had been settled by that election, it was that slavery should be put in the course of extinction, by prohibiting its introduction into free territory; and yet, as soon as the Southern Democrats in Congress began their threats of disunion, Mr. Adams' knees smote with fear, and his tongue became palsied for any utterance except in support of slavery. His whole course during the closing session of the Thirty-sixth Congress, intervening between Mr. Lincoln's election and his inauguration, was one of treason to the cause of liberty, and desertion from the cause of the Union. He offered every humiliating concession to the South, agreed to abandon the prohibition of slavery in the Territories, and, as the climax of degrading and dishonoring conditions, he offered to amend the Constitution of the United States, so as to render the abolition of slavery impossible so long as a single slave State should object. The amendment so warmly urged by Mr. Adams declared in effect that no amendment to the Constitution in any way interfering with slavery in the States should ever be even so much as proposed, except by one of the slave States, and should not be adopted except with the consent of every slave State. When, in 1836, Arkansas applied for admission into the Union, with a Constitution which forever prohibited the Legislature from touching slavery, except with the consent of the slaveholders, John Quincy Adams declared such a provision to be infamous beyond the power of expression; and yet, Charles



of Mr. Seward, to depreciate, and belittle, and dishonor the grandest man that had sat in the Presidential chair since George Washington.

Mr. Adams, in this petty and paltry course, was seeking an ignoble revenge over the dead patriot who, when living, could never refer to the Constitutional amendment which Mr. Adams advocated without a thrill of horror. Mr. Lincoln, indeed, often declared that no crisis of the war was so terrible, and no possible issue of it so destructive, as the proposition of Mr. Adams to found the continuance of the Union on the remorseless and hopeless and endless servitude of an entire race of men. Mr. Lincoln did not believe that God would permit the perpetuity of a Union founded on such atrocious wrong and crime. In view of Mr. Adams' course toward Mr. Lincoln in his grave, the friends of Governor Haves will estimate his criticism of that honored leader and true man at precisely its just value. But for the honor of New England, I desire to say that of all her Representatives, Mr. Adams stood alone, I think, in supporting this infamous proposition. Every other Massachusetts Representative was opposed to it, including the Hon. Alexander H. Rice, the present Republican Governor of that State, and candidate for re-election against Mr. Adams. Indeed, from all New England, as I have said. in that hour of supreme trial, no other Republican proved false to her principles and her teachings save only he whose inheritance should have made him the foremost defender of the right. And after Mr. Adams had made this fearful offer of the eternal permanence of slavery to the ranting Democratic disunionists of the South, he superadded to it, in a formal speech, the intimation that if it was not acceptable to the South, he might himself favor some scheme of disunion, if it could be of a peaceful

And now, with this record, Mr. Adams character. naturally and properly supports Tilden, and the lengths he would go to conciliate the rebel Democratic element may be inferred from the extent to which he was willing to go in 1861, when he was ready and eager, on the heels of a National Republican victory, to concede more to the slave interest than its extremest fire-eating advocate had ever demanded in Congress. Imagine, if you can-tell me, if you will-one possible condition the South would impose on the legislation of Congress that Mr. Adams would not gladly support -one possible exaction the rebel Democrats could make that Mr. Adams would not gladly concede? Would he hesitate at anything a "solid South" would demand? Would be interpose his influence against the payment of any amount of rebel claims? Would he, I ask, in all sincerity, ever enter a word against taking the right of suffrage from the colored men, whose hopeless and endless enslavement he so lately advocated? When Massachusetts forgets the Republican teachings of John Quiney Adams, she will elect his son Governor of the proud old common wealth. I have said that I have no time and no desire for personalities. If I had, I might readily indulge myself at Mr. Adams' expense. The personal and political gossip at Washington, in 1861, was busy with Mr. Adams' name, and it was currently said that he obtained the mission to England in a manner and by means which he would now consign to oblivion, and which his children would blush have repeated. I have no disposition to includge in at line of gossip, and prefer to confine my criticisms to Adams' record on public questions. Nor have I any to comment on his utter disregard of the difference winciples between the two great political parties. pling, as he has for years, ready to accept the nomi-

that the wish of party

nation of either. Still less do I desire to rehearse the assumed belief in certain quarters, that Mr. Adams' candidacy of the Democratic party was the result of a regular bargain between him and Mr. Tilden, in which Mr. Adams agreed to give the respectability of his name to the Democratic party, and Mr. Tilden agreed, if elected, to make Mr. Adams his Secretary of State. I have no taste for such gossip, and I only refer to its currency, that Mr. Adams may be reminded that he lives in a political house containing a great deal of glass, and that he may not with impunity throw stones at his neighbors nor loosely indulge in railing accusations against those who conscientiously maintain as high a standard of honor as he preaches himself, and higher perhaps than he has already practised."

CHAPTER XV.

THE CONVENTION OF 1880.

THE general effect of President Hayes' administration had been to strengthen a growing independent sentiment in the Republican party. Yet this had not operated so as to materially subtract from the strength or popularity of the recognized leaders of the party. On the contrary, it may have contributed to the hardening of party lines in some localities, as it certainly did to a firmer control by leaders, who found themselves with an opportunity in hand.

Long before the date of the National convention the Republican party became the victim of two forces, each exceedingly active and aggressive. The one inclined to a re-nomination of General Grant, whose popularity they would turn to account and with whose strength they would counterbalance the, to them, many weaknesses of the Hayes administration. They were confident that General Grant, who had just returned from his "Tour around the World," had such a hold on the affections of his countrymen as to warrant the risk of his candidacy for a third, though not consecutive, term.

The other force was that which represented an equal stalwartism, and naturally chrystalized about Mr. Blaine. It found its food in admiration for the man, in a desire to retrieve the defeat at Cincinnati by a success at Chicago, in antagonism to the third term idea, and in the

faith that Blaine would prove a winning candidate and an ideal President.

As these forces organized and solidified preparatory to the convention, it was seen that a gigantic struggle impended. The Grant force was handled most dexterously and determinedly throughout. The Blaine force, trusting more to the popular spirit, and to the efficacy of spontaneity, postponed its exhibions of skill till the time of the Perhaps its most direct, certainly best orconvention. ganized, show of strength was in the anti-Grant massmeeting held at Chicago, on the eve of the convention, at which the most radical utterances were loudly applauded, "boss rule" was bitterly denounced, and the idea of a third term utterly repudiated. If applause for a favorite meant anything, the Blaine force was certainly given an impetus, on that occasion, which might well render it irresistible.

The interests of General Grant fell to the keeping of three leaders in three great States—Senators Roscoe Conkling of New York, Cameron of Pennsylvania, and Logan of Illinois. Their alliance was firm and aggressive, and their knowledge of political methods perfect. They had secured the instructions of their respective State conventions for Grant, though not without protest, and with the intention to apply the "unit rule," which the Cincinnati convention had cast aside.

The convention assembled in the Auditorium at Chicago on June 5, 1880. Excitement ran high, and the convention was regarded as one of the most important in the history of the Republican party, involving as it did so many mooted questions of method and polity, which could only be settled after a severe struggle. The Grant forces were thoroughly committed to the "unit rule" as their only hope. The Blaine forces, and the forces of the

field, were opposed to it, as their only hope. The Republican National Committee met at the Palmer House prior to the opening of the convention. Senator Cameron was chairman, and he announced his intention of adhering to the "unit rule." A majority of the committee was against him, but Mr. Cameron, by his rulings, thwarted their efforts to deprive him of the right to designate a temporary chairman of the convention. The committee then threatened to remove Mr. Cameron from the chairmanship, but this radical measure was happily rendered unnecessary by an agreement that Hon. Geo. F. Hoar be named as Chairman of the Convention, and that the question of enforcing the "unit rule" be postponed until after the report of the committee on credentials was in, when it could be settled in a regular way and in full convention. This plan of settlement was proposed by Chester A. Arthur of New York, who was afterward nominated for Vice-President.

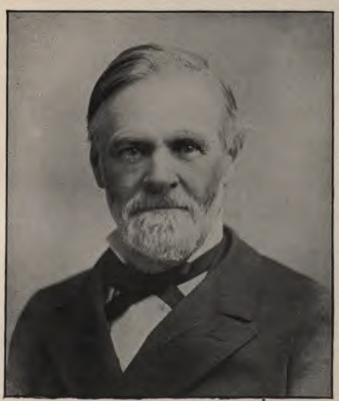
Pursuant to this agreement, Senator Hoar was made temporary chairman, and afterward permanent chairman of the convention. Two days were consumed in getting the convention into working shape, such was the amount of friction between the contending parties and so anxious was each for vantage ground. On the third day, Mr. Conkling moved that each delegate pledge himself to support the nominee of the convention. This motion was carried almost unanimously, only a few delegates from West Virginia voting in the negative. Mr. Conkling immediately moved that they be expelled. This gave rise to a heated debate, which was terminated by the withdrawal of the motion by Mr. Conkling, at the pacific suggestion of Mr. Garfield. In the evening a spirited debate arose over the admission of the Alabama delegation, in which the point involved was the right of representation

by districts or by States. The vote stood 449 for district representation, and 306 against. This settled the fate of the "unit rule" in the convention, and was a decisive defeat for the Grant forces.

The fourth day of the convention found the delegates weary by reason of the long continued excitement. They, however, received the report of the committee on Rules which disapproved of the unit system. The platform was also reported and adopted. The evening session was devoted to placing candidates in nomination. Mr. James F. Joy, of Michigan, placed the name of James G. Blaine in nomination, in a speech which fell far below the occasion. It was ably seconded by Mr. Pixley of California and Mr. Frye, of Maine. Mr. E. F. Drake, of Minnesota, presented the name of Mr. Windom, of that State. Senator Conkling presented the name of General Grant, in an eloquent address, which was seconded by Mr. Bradley, of Kentucky. General Garfield presented the name of Senator John Sherman of Ohio. Mr. Billings presented the name of Senator Edmunds of Vermont. Mr. Cassidy of Wisconsin presented the name of Hon. E. B. Washburne, of Illinois.

On the following Monday the Convention Hall was filled to overflowing with an audience whose sympathies were ready to run riot at mention of the names of favorites. Ten ballots were cast during the day. The Grant strength wavered between 303 and 308. The Blaine strength fluctuated from 280 to 284. The balloting was continued during the evening, and so on, until the thirty-sixth, and decisive one, no material change being perceptible until the thirty-fourth, when Garfield received seventeen votes.

The impossibility of nominating any one of the regular candidates was now apparent. The time for a break had



Hon. John Sherman.

Again Blaine accepted the result philosophically, gave his adhesion cheerfully to the Garfield nomination, and appeared in the campaign as one of the ablest advocates of his party's principles. Wherever he appeared he awakened enthusiasm, and his efforts contributed largely to the success which crowned the campaign. In that he made the nomination of Garfield possible, in that his personal popularity was largely transferred to Garfield, in that he had contributed the weight of his ability to Garfield's election, it was but political justice that he should have as a reward the part of confidential advisor in the Garfield administration. This came about in due time. much to the delight of his supporters, and with the effect of reconciling them to the disappointment of the National Convention. They felt as if Garfield's triumph was in a sense their own, and that their views would be given shape in the administration almost as effectually as if their personal wishes had borne direct fruits. Moreover, they felt that the hour of triumph for their favorite could not be delayed beyond another convention. A quietus had been given to third termism and to many of the dogmas which had interfered with their wishes, and time would reveal such a sentiment as must be respected if merit was to have its due and the cardinal principles of the party were to be perpetuated.

Mr. Blaine had by 1880 reached a period in his brilliant career which, in a personal and political sense, might well have caused him to hesitate about taking a new departure. He had risen so rapidly in the Senate, had so broadened his powers in the fields of legislation, had found his work so congenial and inspiring, as to make it altogether desirable for him to round out and perfect a career in the upper House. He was there amid the dignity and conservatism of the nation, fully enthroned in the respect of friend and opponent, far

CHAPTER XVI.

AS SECRETARY OF STATE.

In making up his cabinet and with deference to all the political conditions, President Garfield could hardly refuse to select Mr. Blaine as his confidential advisor. He accordingly appointed an interview in Washington on Nov. 24, 1880, and tendered the Department of State to Mr. Blaine. Acceptance was deferred until Mr. Blaine became better acquainted with the sentiment such an offer was sure to evoke. In December the fact of the tender became public and began to draw most favorable discussions. This induced Mr. Blaine to accept the proffered honor, and on Dec. 20, 1880, he addressed Garfield thus:

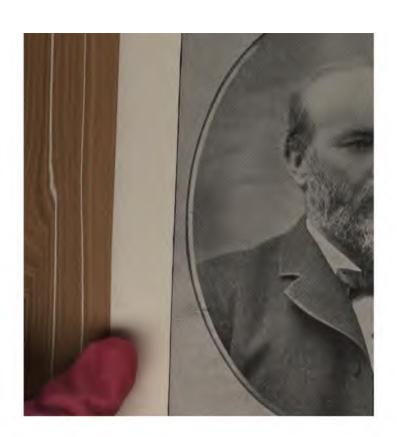
WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 20, 1880.

MY DEAR GARFIELD:—Your generous invitation to enter your cabinet as Secretary of State has been under consideration for more than three weeks. The thought had really never occurred to my mind until at our late conference you presented it with such cogent arguments in its favor and with such warmth of personal friendship in aid of your kind offer.

I know that an early answer is desirable, and I have waited only long enough to consider the subject in all its bearings, and to make up my mind definitely and conclusively. I now say to you, in the same cordial spirit in which you have invited me, that I accept the position.

It is no affectation for me to add that I make this decis-





heart goes with my head, and that I carry to you not only political support but personal and devoted friendship. I can but regard it as somewhat remarkable that two men of the same age, entering Congress at the same time, influenced by the same aims and cherishing the same ambitions, should never, for a single moment in eighteen years of close intimacy, have had a misunderstanding or a coolness, and that our friendship has steadily grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength.

It is this fact which has led me to the conclusion embodied in this letter; for however much, my dear Garfield, I might admire you as a statesman, I would not enter your cabinet if I did not believe in you as a man and love you as a friend.

Always faithfully yours,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

This was Mr. Blaine's acceptance, this his pledge of fidelity. Hardly anything could have been more in accord with his own exalted views nor more pleasing to the nation. Having entered his solemn compact, he resigned his seat in the senate and took his seat in the Garfield Cabinet, March 4, 1881. The Cabinet consisted of James G. Blaine, Secretary of State; William Windom, Secretary of the Treasury; Wayne McVeagh, Attorney General; Robert T. Lincoln, Secretary of War; Wm. H. Hunt, Secretary of the Navy; Samuel L. Kirkwood, Secretary of the Interior; Thomas L. James, Postmaster General.

The Cabinet was regarded as strong, and the government seemed to respond to the new hands at the helm. It was felt that the easy going policy of President Hayes would soon be replaced by something calculated to inspire greater confidence and contribute more to national dignity. The change was most agreeable, and visions were

for Grant, and led the Blaine delegates from that State while Blaine was in the field, and when withdrawn went to Garfield. Senator Conkling now sought to confirm his friends, and hold back his enemy from confirmation; but these tactics induced Garfield to withdraw the nomination of Conkling's friends, and in this way Judge Robertson's name was alone presented for a time. Against this course Vice-President Arthur and Senators Conkling and Platt remonstrated in a letter to the President, but he remained firm. Senator Conkling, under the plea of "the privilege of the Senate,"-a courtesy and custom which leaves to the Senators of a State the right to say who shall be confirmed or rejected from their respective States if of the same party-now sought to defeat Robertson. In this battle he had arrayed against him the influence of his great rival, Mr. Blaine, and it is presumed the whole power of the administration. He lost, and the morning following the secret vote, May 17th, 1881, his own and the resignation of Senator Platt were read. These resignations caused great excitement throughout the entire country. They were prepared without consultation with any one-even Vice-President Arthur, the intimate friend of both, not knowing anything of the movement until the letters were opened at the chair where he presided. Logan and Cameron-Conkling's colleagues in the great Chicago battle-were equally unadvised. The resignations were forwarded to Gov. Cornell, of New York, who, by all permissible delays, sought to have them reconsidered and withdrawn, but both Senators were firm. The Senate confirmed Judge Robertson for Collector, and General Merritt as Consul-General at London, May 18th. President Garfield having wisely renewed the Conkling list of appointees, most of whom declined under the changed condition of affairs.

pensable, an the Powers were informed that any foreign guarantee would be not only an unnecessary but unfriendly act. As the United States had made in the Clayton-Hulwer Treaty of 1850 a special agreement with Great Britain on this subject, Secretary Blaine supplemented his memorandum to the Powers by a formal proposal for the abrogation of all provisions of that convention which were not in accord with the guarantees and privileges covenanted for in the compact with the Columbian Republic. In his State paper, the most elaborate of the series receiving his signature as Secretary of State, Mr. Blaine contended that the operation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty practically conceded to Great Britain the control of any canal which might be constructed in the isthmus, as that Power was required by its insular position and colonial possessions to maintain a naval establishment with which the United States could not compete. As the American Government had bound itself by its engagements in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty not to fight in the isthmus, not to fortify the mouths of any waterway that might be constructed the Secretary argued that if any struggle for the control of the canal were to arise England would have an advantage at the outset which would prove decisive. "The treaty," he remarked, "commands this Government not to use a single regiment of troops to protect its interests in connection with the interoceanic canal, but to surrender the transit to the guardianship and control of the British navy." The logic of this paper was unanswerable from an American point of view. If the Monroe Doctrine beanything more than a tradition, the control of the Panama Canal must not be allowed to pass out of American hands; and since the country having the most powerful navy is the real guardian of the freedom of an interoceunic canal under any system of international guarantees, or in the absence of treaty law, the Panama Canal, as Mr. Blaine said, under the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty would be surrendered, if not in form yet in effect, to the control of Great Britain.

In Secretary Blaine's instructions to Mr. James Russel Lowell, Minister to England, is the following summary of the changes in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850, necessary to meet the views of the United States Government:

"First. Every part of the treaty which forbids the United States fortifying the canal, and holding the political control of it in conjunction with the country in which it is located to be cancelled.

"Second. Every part of the treaty in which Great Britain and the United States agree to make no acquisition of territory in Central America to remain in full force."

The admirable and forcible chain of reasoning by which Mr. Blaine led to these conclusions forced the English newspapers to admit that he had made out a good case upon British precedents, and that the right of the United States to control the Panama Canal was stronger, and the necessity of such control greater, than the right and necessity of England to control the Suez Canal.

As to the projected action of the United States in relation to the difficulties between Chili and Peru, it may be said in brief that their war virtually ended with the capture of Lima, on Jan. 17, 1881. Periola, the President, had succeeded in rallying a few followers in the north, and Calderon, assuming the provisional Presidency, had convoked a Congress in the vicinity of Lima. The State Department made strenuous exertions to bring about the conclusion of an early peace between Chili and the two prostrate States which had been crushed in war. The influence of the Government was brought to bear

upon victorious Chili in the interest of peace and magnanimity; but owing to an unfortunate misapprehension of Mr. Blaine's instructions, the United States Ministers did not promote the ends of peace. Special envoys were accordingly sent to South America accredited to the three Governments with general instructions which should enable them to bring those belligerent Powers into friendly relations. These envoys were Mr. Trescot and Mr. Walker Blaine, and their mission was to perform a most delicate and important diplomatic duty in the interest of peace. After they had set out from New York Mr. Blaine resigned, and Mr. Frelinghuysen reversed the diplomatic policy with such precipitate haste that the envoys on arriving at their destination were informed by the Chilian Minister of Foreign Affairs that their instructions had been countermanded and that their mission was an idle farce. By this extraordinary reversal of diplomatic methods and purposes the influence of the United States Government on the South American coast was reduced to so low a point as to become insignificant. Mr. Blaine's policy had been at once strong and pacific. It was followed by a period of no-policy which enabled Chili to make a conqueror's terms with the conquered and to seize as much territory as pleased its rapacious generals.

The most conspicuous act of Mr. Blaine's administration of the State Department was his invitation to the Peace Congress. This plan had been decided upon before the assassination of President Garfield. The proposition was to invite all the independent Governments of North and South America to meet the Peace Congress at Washington on March 15, 1882. The representatives of all the minor Governments on this continent were to agree, if

means of arbitration and for resisting the intrigues of European diplomacy. Invitations were sent on November 22, with the limitations and restrictions originally designed. Mr. Frelinghuysen lost no time in undermining this Diplomatic Congress and the meeting never took place. It cannot be doubted that the proposed Congress would have had a most important effect, not only in promoting the ends of peace, but in stimulating American trade with the Spanish-American States. It was a brilliant conception—a most useful project.

Mr. Blaine has described the Congress as "an important and impressive step on the part of the United States toward closer relationship with our continental neighbors. In no event could harm have resulted in the assembling of the Peace Congress. Failure was next to impossible. Success might be regarded as certain. The subject to be discussed was peace, and how it can be permanently preserved in North and South America. The labors of the Congress would have probably ended in a well-digested system of arbitration, under which all troubles between American States could be quickly, effectually and satisfactorily adjusted. Such a consummation would have been worth a great struggle and a great sacrifice. It could have been reached without any struggle and would have involved no sacrifice. It was within our grasp. It was ours for the asking. It would have been a signal victory of philanthropy over the selfishness of human ambition; a complete triumph of Christian principles as applied to the affairs of Nations. It would have reflected enduring honor on our new country, and would have imparted a new spirit and a new brotherhood to all America. Nor would its influence beyond the sea have been small. The example of seventeen independent Nations solemnly agreeing to abolish the arbitrament of the sword, and to settle every dispute by peaceful methods of adjudication, would have exerted an influence to the utmost confines of civilization, and upon the generations of men yet to come."

Shortly after Mr. Blaine retired from the Cabinet, and after President Arthur had modified the foreign policy laid down by his predecessor, he wrote the following letter to a paper in Chicago, in explanation of his position.

AUGUSTA, Maine, Sept. 1st, 1882.

The foreign policy of President Garfield's administration had two principal objects in view: First, to bring about peace, and prevent future wars in North and South America; second, to cultivate such friendly commercial relations with all American countries as would lead to a large increase in the export trade of the United States, by supplying those fabrics in which we are abundantly able to compete with the manufacturing nations of Europe.

To attain the second object the first must be accomplished. It would be idle to attempt the development and enlargement of our trade with the countries of North and South America if that trade were liable at any unforeseen moment to be violently interrupted by such wars as that which for three years has engrossed and almost engulfed Chili, Peru, and Bolivia; as that which was barely averted by the friendly offices of the United States between Chili and the Argentine Republic; as that which has been postponed by the same good offices, but not decisively abandoned, between Mexico and Guatemala; as that which is threatened between Brazil and Uruguay; as that which is even now foreshadowed between Brazil and the Argentine States. Peace is essential to com-

solved, before the fatal shot of July 2, to invite all the independent governments of North and South America to meet in a Peace Congress at Washington. The date to be assigned was the 15th of March, 1882, and the invitations would have been issued directly after the new England tour, which the President was not permitted to make. Nearly six months later, on November 22, President Garfield's successor issued the invitations for the Peace Congress in the same spirit and scope and with the same limitations and restrictions that had been originally designed.

As soon as the project was understood in South America it received a most cordial approval, and some of the countries, not following the leisurely routine of diplomatic correspondence, made haste to accept the invitation. There can be no doubt that within a brief period all the nations invited would have formally signified their readiness to attend the Congress; but in six weeks after the invitations had gone to the several countries, President Arthur caused them to be recalled, or at least suspended. The subject was afterward referred to Congress in a special message, in which the President ably vindicated his Constitutional right to assemble the Peace Congress, but expressed a desire that the legislative department of the Government should give an opinion upon the expediency of the step before the Congress should be allowed to convene.

Meanwhile the nations that received the invitations were in an embarrassing situation; for after they were asked by the President to come, they found that the matter had been reconsidered and referred to another department of the Government. This change was universally accepted as a practical though indirect abandonment of the project, for it was not from the first probable that Congress would take any action whatever upon the

subject. The good will and welcome of the invitation would be destroyed by a long debate in the Senate and House, in which the question would necessarily become intermixed with personal and party polities, and the project would be ultimately wrecked from the same cause and by the same process that destroyed the usefulness of the Panama Congress more than fifty years ago, when Mr. Clay was Secretary of State. The time for Congressional action would have been after the Peace Conference had closed its labors. The conference could not agree upon anything that would be binding upon the United States, unless assented to as a treaty by the Senate, or enacted into a law by both branches. The assembling of the Conference, as President Arthur so well demonstrated. was not in derogation of any right or prerogative of the Senate or House. The money necessary for the expenses of the conference-which would not have exceeded \$10 .-000-could not, with reason or propriety, have been refused by Congress. If it had been refused, patriotism and philanthropy would have promptly supplied it.

The Spanish American States are in special need of the help which the Peace Congress would afford them. They require external pressure to keep them from war. When at war they require external pressure to bring them to peace. Their outbreaks are not only frequent, but are sanguinary and sometimes cruel. The inhabitants of those countries are a brave people, belonging to a race that have always been brave, descended of men that have always been proud. They are of hot temper, quick to take affront, ready to avenge a wrong, whether real or fancied. They are at the same time generous and chivalrous, and though tending for years to past estrangement and alienation from us, they would promptly respond to any advance made by the Great Republic of the North, as they have

for two generations termed our Government. The moral influence upon the Spanish American people of such an international assembly as the Peace Congress, called by the invitation and meeting under the auspices of the United States, would have proved beneficent and farreaching. It would have raised the standard of their civilization. It would have turned their attention to the things of peace; and the continent, whose undeveloped wealth amazed Humboldt, might have had a new life given to it, a new and splendid career opened to its inhabitants.

Such friendly interventions as the proposed Peace Congress, and as the attempt to restore peace between Chili and Peru, fell within the line of both duty and interest on the part of the United States. Nations like individuals often require the aid of a common friend to restore relations of amity. Peru and Chili are in deplorable need of a wise and powerful mediator. Though exhausted by war, they are unable to make peace, and, unless they shall be aided by the intervention of a friend, political anarchy and social disorder will come to the conquered, and evil scarcely less serious to the conqueror. Our own Government cannot take the ground that it will not offer friendly intervention to settle troubles between American countries, unless at the same time it freely concedes to European governments the right of such intervention, and thus consents to a practical destruction of the Monroe doctrine and an unlimited increase of European and monarchical influence on this continent. The late special envoy to Peru and Chili, Mr. Trescot, gives it as his deliberate and published conclusion that if the instructions under which he set out upon his mission had not been revoked, peace between those angry belligerents would have been established as the result of his labors-necessarily to the great benefit of the United States. If our Government

Spanish America brings against us every year. This amount is fifty per cent. more than the average annual product of the gold and silver mines of the United States during the past five years. This vast sum does not of course go to Spanish America in coin, but it goes across the ocean in coin or its equivalent, to pay European countries for manufactured articles which they furnish to Spanish America—a large proportion of which should be furnished by the manufacturers of the United States.

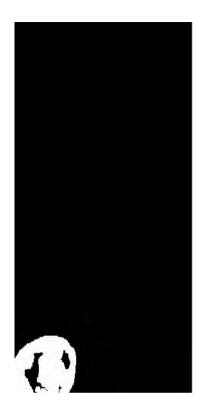
At this point of the argument the free trader appears and declares that our protective tariff destroys our power of competition with European countries, and that if we will abolish protection, we shall soon have South American trade. The answer is not sufficient, for to-day there are many articles which we can send to South America, and sell as cheaply as European manufacturers can furnish them. It is idle, of course, to make this statement to the genuine apostle of free trade and the implacable enemy of protection, for the great postulate of his argument, the foundation of his creed, is that nothing can be made as cheaply in America as in Europe. Nevertheless facts are stubborn, and the hard figures of arithmetic cannot be satisfactorily answered by airy figures of speech. The truth remains that the coarser descriptions of cottons and cotton prints, boots and shoes, ordinary household furniture, harness for draft animals, agricultural implements of all kinds, doors, sashes and blinds, locks, bolts and hinges, silverware, plated ware, wooden ware, ordinary paper and paper-hangings, common vehicles, ordinary window-glass and glassware, rubber goods, coal oils, lard oils, kerosenes, white lead, lead pipe, and articles in which lead is a chief component, can be and are produced as cheaply in the United States as in any other part of the world. The list of such articles might be lengthened by the addition

of those classed as "notions;" but enough only are given to show that this country would, with proper commercial arrangements, export much more largely than it now does to Spanish America.

In the trade relations of the world, it does not follow that mere ability to produce as cheaply as another nation insures a division of an established market, or, indeed, any participation in it. France manufactures many articles as cheaply as England-some articles at even less cost. Portugal lies nearer to France than to England, and the expense of transporting the French fabric to the Portuguese market is therefore less than the transportation of English fabric. And yet Great Britain has almost a monopoly in the trade of Portugal. The same condition applies, though in a less degree, in the trade of Turkey. Syria and Egypt, which England holds to a much greater extent than any of the other European nations that are able to produce the same fabric as cheaply. If it be said in answer, that England has special trade-relations by treaty with Portugal and special obligations binding the other countries, the ready answer is, that she has no more favorable position with regard to those countries than can be readily and easily acquired by the United States with respect to all the countries of America. That end will be reached whenever the United States desires it, and wills it, and is ready to take the steps necessary to secure it. At present the trade with Spanish America runs sol strongly in channels adverse to us, that, besides our inability to furnish manufactured articles, we do not get the profit on our own raw products that are shipped there. Our petroleum reaches most of the Spanish-American ports after twice crossing the Atlantic, paying often a better profit to the European middle man, who handles it. than it does to the producer of the oil in the north-



CHESTER A. ARTHUR.



western counties of Pennsylvania. Flour and pork from the West reach Cuba by way of Spain, and though we buy and consume ninety per cent. of the total products of Cuba, almost that proportion of her purchases are made in Europe—made, of course, with money furnished directly from our pockets.

As our exports to Spanish America grow less, as European imports constantly grow large, the balance against us will show an annual increase, and will continue to exhaust our supply of the precious metals. We are increasing our imports from South America, and the millions we annually pay for coffee, wool, hides, guano, chincona, caoutchouc, cabinet woods, dye woods and other articles, go for the ultimate benefit of European manufacturers who take the gold from us and send their fabrics to Spanish America. If we could send our fabrics, our gold would stay at home and our general prosperity would be sensibly increased. But so long as we repel Spanish America, so long as we leave her to cultivate intimate relations with Europe alone, so long our trade relations will remain unsatisfactory and even embarrassing. Those countries sell to us very heavily. They buy from us lightly. And the amount they bring us in debt each year is larger than the heaviest aggregate balance of trade we ever have against us in the worst of times. The average balance against us in the whole world in the five most adverse years we ever experienced, was about one hundred millions of dollars. This plainly shows that in our European exchanges there is always a balance in our favor and that our chief deficiency arises from our mal-adjusted commercial relations with Spanish America. It follows that if our Spanish American trade were placed on a better and more equitable foundation, it would be almost impossible

even in years most unfavorable to us, to bring us in debt to the world.

With such heavy purchases as we are compelled to make from Spanish America, it could hardly be expected that we should be able to adjust the entire account by exports. But the balance against us of one hundred and twenty millions in gold coin is far too large, and in time of stringency is a standing menace of final disaster. It should not be forgotten that every million dollars of products or fabrics that we sell in Spanish America is a million dollars in gold saved to our own country. The immediate profit is to the producer and exporter, but the entire country realizes a gain in the ease and affluence of the money market which is insured by keeping our gold at home. The question involved is so large, the object to be achieved is so great, that no effort on the part of the Government to accomplish it could be too earnest or too long continued.

It is only claimed for the Peace Congress, designed under the administration of Garfield, that it was an important and impressive step on the part of the United States toward closer relationship with our continental neighbors. The present tendency in those countries is toward Europe, and it is a lamentable fact that their people are not so near to us in feeling as they were sixty years ago when they threw off the yoke of Spanish tyranny. We were then a weak republic of ten millions, but we did not hesitate to recognize the independence of the new governments, even at the risk of war with Spain. Our foreign policy at that time was specially designed to extend our influence in the Western Hemisphere, and the statesmen of that era-the era of De Witt Clinton and the younger Adams, of Clay and of Crawford, of Webster and Calhoun, of Van Buren and Benton, of Jackson and of Edward Livingston-were always courageous in the inspiring measures which they advocated for the expansion of our commercial dominion.

Three-score years have passed. The power of the Republic in many directions has grown beyond all anticipation, but we have relatively lost ground in some great fields of enterprise. We have added thousands of miles to our ocean front, but our commerce has fallen off, and from ardent friendship with Spanish America we have drifted into indifference if not into coldness. It is but one step further to reach a condition of positive unfriendliness, which may end in what would be equivalent to a commercial alliance against us. Already one of the most dangerous movements-that of a European guarantee and guardianship of the Interoceanic Canal-is suggested and urged upon the Great Foreign Powers by representatives of a South American country. If these tendencies are to be averted, if Spanish-American friendship is to be regained, if the commercial empire that legitimately belongs to us is to be ours, we must not be idle and witness its transfer to others. If we would reconquer it, a great first step is to be taken. It is the first step that costs. It is also the first step that counts. Can there be suggested a wiser step than the Peace Congress of the two Americas, that was devised under Garfield, and had the weight of his great name?

In no event could harm have resulted in the assembling of the Peace Congress; failure was next to impossible. Success might be regarded as certain. The subject to be discussed was peace, and how it can be permanently preserved in North and South America. The labors of the Congress would have probably ended in a well-digested system of arbitration, under which all troubles between American States could be quickly, effectually and satis-

been worth a great struggle and a great sacrifice. It could have been reached without any struggle and would have involved no sacrifice. It was within our grasp. It was ours for the asking. It would have been a signal victory of philanthropy over the selfishness of human ambition; a complete triumph of Christian principles as applied to the affairs of Nations. It would have reflected enduring honor on our new country, and would have imparted a new spirit and a new brotherhood to all America. Nor would its influence beyond the sea have been small. The example of seventeen independent Nations solemnly agreeing to abolish the arbitrament of the sword, and to settle every dispute by peaceful methods of adjudication, would have exerted an influence to the utmost confines of civilization, and upon generations of men yet to come.

JAMES G. BLAINE.

Mr. Blaine had great faith in the future of the South. On one occasion he said:

"In reconstructing the South we made the same mistake the British government is making with the Irish. If we had made a government donation of \$50,000,000 for the purpose of constructing a railway from Charleston to the Southern end of California, and spent every dollar of it between Charleston and the Mississippi River in the first three years following the war, the problem of reconstruction would have solved itself; the people would have had business interests, instead of politics, to occupy their attention. I believe that within ten years the material increase in the Southern States, east of the Mississippi, will equal, if it does not surpass, that of the Northwestern States, west of the Mississippi."

And so as to Civil Service Reform, if any other pledge

for its advancement were needed than that found in the Republican platform and Garfield's inaugural. Said a distinguished Senator, a member of the Civil Service Committee then considering the Civil Service Act of 1883: "I talked with Mr. Blaine upon the subject in 1882, at a time when few Senators favored the act we now enjoy, and to my gratification he expressed himself in the strongest terms in favor of a law regulating the appointments to office. Mr. Blaine was then far in advance of the great majority of Republican Senators as to this reform, and it is a fact that I think the country ought to know."

In speaking of this reform before an audience in Winterport, Maine, in 1882, he gave his views fully on life-tenure in office, and after declaring that it was always better to hold on to good administrative officers, even if it resulted in a life-tenure, he still thought that there ought to be definite terms. As to this his language was:

"There are many reforms which I should be glad to see, and which I have for many years believed in. I should be glad to see every Federal officer, however honorable, appointed for a specific period, during which he could not be removed except for cause, which cause should be specified, proved, and made matter of record. I should be glad also to see the tenure of all subordinate officers made longer at least than a Presidential term, so that the incoming of a new administration should not be harrassed, annoyed, crippled and injured by the distribution of offices. Seven years would be a good length of term, and would effect the desired end. It would break joints with the Presidential term, and would avoid the evil of which I have spoken."



doubt the President and his first additional prosperity for the peo On the bright Saturday morni dent prepared to leave the N

dent prepared to leave the N: York, and thence to New Engla of his classmates at the Com College. Secretary Blaine ac station and observed the alm which he anticipated this mee dents of former days. Passing the ladies' waiting-room, they w train, when that fiend in human fatal shot which finally after we ing, and during which not only watched in spirit by his bedside, people of the country will never showed by Mr. Blaine to his dyi he watched at his bedside, and ar sorrows discharged all the response tion.

On September 6 the Preside

September when the fatal moment came, and reached there the next morning.

The diplomatic career of Mr. Blaine, which commenced with Garfield's administration, ended with his resignation on December 19, just three months after the death of the President. He desired to retire to private life at once, but remained at the urgent solicitation of President Arthur.

After his resignation as Secretary of State, he removed to his home in Maine, and at once commenced his "Twenty Years in Congress," which appeared in two volumes. It covers the most important part of our history, extending from Lincoln to Garfield, with a glance at the events that led to the rebellion. Apart from the general tenor of the work from a historical standpoint, it is a biography of the American people, a review of general issues, a picture of the progress of a fifth of a century, and a panorama of the historic events belonging to that period. It shows the great pulsations of the nation during its struggle, its hopes, its fears, and its efforts for success, or as is said by a writer in reviewing the work. the thoughts of the people, as they varied from year to year, their times of indecision and darkness, of swift insight and heroic resolution; their days of timidity and weak compromising with wrong, and their grand endurance and unflinching fidelity when the crisis at last brought duty clearly before them; their singular sagacity in decisions of vital moment-all these are portrayed in Mr. Blaine's narrative with clearness and power. The story he tells is given with the simplicity and compactness of a trained journalist, and yet with sufficient fullness to make the picture distinct and clear in almost every detail. The book is as easy to read as a well-written novel; it is clear and interesting, and commands the attention throughout, the more for the absence of anything like oratorical display or forensic combativeness.

Mr. Blaine was very appropriately selected by Congress to deliver the memorial address upon the lamented Garfield. None knew him better, none had been more intimately associated with him, none loved him more dearly. The occasion was solemnly grand. The date was February 19, 1882. The place was the House of Representatives. The audience was composed of the President and his cabinet, both Houses of Congress, the Supreme Court, the foreign legations, and such others as could find ingress to the crowded chamber. Mr. Blaine arose with the reserve which bespoke a bowed heart, yet with the dignity that became a mighty theme of which he was master. His address was chaste, stately and impressive, avoiding the track of common eulogy, moving on the plain of exact analysis of character, grandeur of achievement, heroic bearing, calamitous fate and national lament. It will ever be a study for young and old, and will ever rank as one of the most most fitting productions of English speech. It reads :-

"For the second time in this generation the great departments of the Government of the United States are assembled in the Hall of Representatives to do honor to the memory of a murdered President. Lincoln fell at the close of a mighty struggle in which the passions of men had been deeply stirred. The tragical termination of his great life added but another to the lengthened succession of horrors which had marked so many lintels with the blood of the first-born. Garfield was slain in a day of peace, when brother had been reconciled to brother, and when anger and hate had been banished from the land. "Whoever shall hereafter draw the portrait of murder, if he

will show it as it has been exhibited where such example was last to have been looked for, let him not give it the grim visage of Moloch, the brow knitted by revenge, the face black with settled hate. Let him draw, rather, a decorous, smooth-faced, bloodless demon; not so much an example of human nature in its depravity and in its paroxysms of crime, as an infernal being, a fiend in the ordinary display and development of his character."

"From the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth till the uprising against Charles I., about twenty thousand emigrants came from Old England to New England. As they came in pursuit of intellectual freedom and ecclesiastical independence rather than for worldly honor and profit, the emigration naturally ceased when the contest for religious liberty began in earnest at home. The man who struck his most effective blow for freedom of conscience by sailing for the Colonies in 1620 would have been accounted a deserter if he had left after 1640. The opportunity had then come on the soil of England for that great contest which established the authority of Parliament, gave religious freedom to the people, sent Charles to the block, and committed to the hands of Oliver Cromwell the supreme executive power of England. The emigration was never renewed, and from these twenty thousand men, and from a small emigration from Scotland, from Ireland, and from France, are descended the vast numbers who have New England blood in their veins.

"In 1685 the revocation of the edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. scattered to other countries four hundred thousand Protestants, who were among the most intelligent and enterprising of French subjects—merchants of capital, skilled manufacturers, and handicraftsmen, superior at the time to all others in Europe. A considerable number of



not, came the late President—field, being descended from the Ballou, from the other. It was—none better, none braver, none an inheritance of courage, of molecular love of liberty, of undying adhefield was proud of his blood; and tion as if he were a British noble ancestral record in Burke's Pee as ninth in descent from those we oppression of the Stuarts, and see brave French Protestants who manny even from Louis the Great.

"General Garfield delighted and, during his only visit to En

in searching out every trace of registries and on ancient army re in the gallery of the House of C a long day's labor in this field of evident elation, that in every was turies patriots of English blood "His father dying before he was two years old, Gar-field's early life was one of privation, but his poverty has been made indelicately and unjustly prominent. Thousands of readers have imagined him as the ragged, starving child, whose reality too often greets the eye in the squalid sections of our large cities. General Garfield's infancy and youth had none of this destitution, none of these pitiful features appealing to the tender heart, and to the open hand of charity. He was a poor boy in the same sense in which Henry Clay was a poor boy; in which Andrew Jackson was a poor boy; in which Daniel Webster was a poor boy; in the sense in which a large majority of the eminent men of America in all generations have been poor boys. Before a great mulitude, in a public speech, Mr. Webster bore this testimony:—

"It did not happen to me to be born in a log cabin, but my elder brothers and sisters were born in a log cabin raised amid the snow-drifts of New Hampshire, at a period so early that when the smoke rose first from its rude chimney and curled over the frozen hills, there was no similar evidence of a white man's habitation between it and the settlements on the rivers of Canada. Its remains still exist. I make to it an annual visit. I carry my children to it to teach them the hardships endured by the generations which have gone before them. I love to dwell on the tender recollections, the kindred ties, the early affections, and the touching narratives and incidents which mingle with all I know of this primitive family abode."

"With the requisite change of scene the same words would aptly portray the early days of Garfield. The poverty of the frontier, where all are engaged in a com-

pendence. The poverty of the poverty. It is but the beginn boundless possibilities of the fu before it. No man ever grew regions of the West, where a l corn-husking, is matter of comm ness, with any other feeling than generous independence. This marked the youth of Garfield, a millions of the best blood and br future citizenship and future gove He was born heir to land, to the t has been the patent and passport Anglo-Saxon race ever since Her on the shores of England. His -an alternate between that and th schooner-was a farmer boy's dev just as the New England lad b career by sailing before the mast

China seas.

on a merchantman bound to the

was found at the hand of charity. General Garfield's youth presented no hardships which family love and family energy did not overcome, subjected him to no privations which he did not cheerfully accept, and left no memories save those which were recalled with delight, and transmitted with profit and with pride.

"His early opportunities for securing an education were extremely limited, and yet were sufficient to develop in him an intense desire to learn. He could read at three years of age, and each winter he had the advantage of the district school. He read all the books to be found within the circle of his acquaintance; some of them he learned by heart. While yet in childhood he was a constant student of the Bible, and became familiar with its literature. The dignity and earnestness of his speech in mature life gave evidence of this early training. At eighteen years of age he was able to teach school, and thenceforth his ambition was to obtain a college education. To this end he bent all his efforts, working in the harvest field, at the carpenter's bench, and, in the winter season, teaching the common schools of the neighborhood. While thus laboriously occupied he found time to prosecute his studies, and was so successful that at twenty-two years of age he was able to enter the junior class at Williams College, then under the Presidency of the venerable and honored Mark Hopkins, who, in the fullness of his powers, survives the eminent pupil to whom he was of inestimable service.

"The history of Garfield's life to this period presents no novel features. He had undoubtedly shown perseverance, self-reliance, self-sacrifice and ambition—qualities which, be it said for the honor of our country, are everywhere to be found among the young men of America. But from his graduation at Williams onward, to the hour

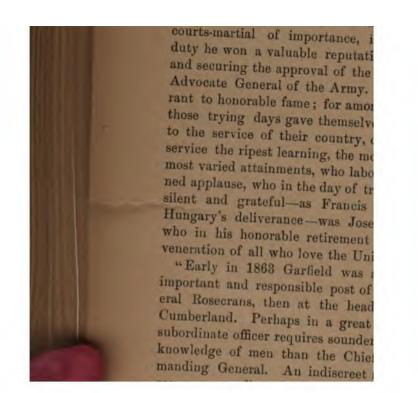


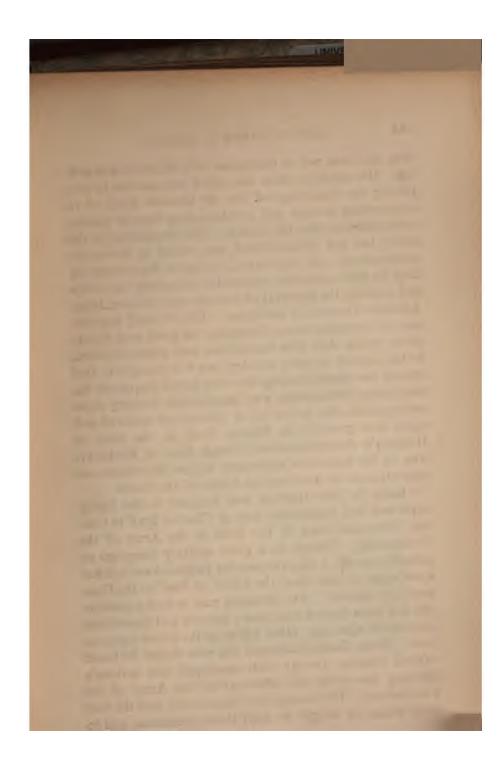
of the Army of the United Stellect to the National Congress. so varied, so elevated, within a man so young, is without paral country.

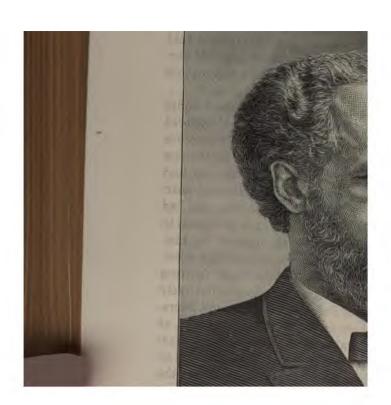
"His army life was begun with edge than such as he had has the few months preceding his ping from civil life to the hea order he received when ready assume command of a brigade, pendent force in Eastern Kentu was to check the advance of was marching down the Big Sa occupying, in connection wit forces, the entire territory of tating the State into secession. the year 1861. Seldom, if ever fessor been thrown into a mo couraging position. He knew science, as he expressed it him

The skill, the endurance, the extraordinary energy shown by Garfield, the courage he imparted to his men, raw and untried as himself, the measures he adopted to increase his force and to create in the enemy's mind exaggerated estimates of his numbers, bore perfect fruit in the rout of Marshall, the capture of his camp, the dispersion of his forces, and the emancipation of an important territory from the control of the rebellion. Coming at the close of a long series of disasters to the Union arms, this victory had an unusual and extraneous importance, and in the popular judgment elevated the young commander to the rank of a military hero. With less than two thousand men in his entire command, with a mobilized force of only eleven hundred, without cannon, he had met an army of five thousand and defeated them-driving Marshall's forces successively from two strongholds of their own selection, fortified with abundant artillery. Major-General Buell, commanding the Department of the Ohio, an experienced and able soldier of the regular army, published an order of thanks and congratulation on the brilliant result of the Big Sandy campaign, which would have turned the head of a less cool and sensible man than Garfield. Buell declared that his services had called into action the highest qualities of a soldier, and President Lincoln supplemented these words of praise by the more substantial reward or a Brigadier-General's commission, to bear date from the day of his decisive victory over Marshall.

"The subsequent military career of Garfield fully and tained its brilliant beginning. With his new commission he was assigned to the command of a brigade in the Army of the Ohio, and took part in the second and decisive day's fight on the bloody field of Shilloh. The remainder of the year 1962 was not assemble analysis.







discharge the duties of his new and trying position, will always remain one of the most striking proofs of his great versatility. His military duties closed on the memorable field of Chickamauga, a field which, however disastrous to the Union arms, gave to him the occasion of winning imperishable laurels. The very rare distinction was accorded him of a great promotion for bravery on a field that was lost. President Lincoln appointed him a Major-General in the Army of the United States for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle of Chickamauga.

"The Army of the Cumberland was re-organized under the command of General Thomas, who promptly offered Garfield one of its divisions. He was extremely desirous to accept the position, but was embarrassed by the fact that he had, a year before, been elected to Congress, and the time when he must take his seat was drawing near. He preferred to remain in the military service, and had within his own breast the largest confidence of success in the wider field which his new rank opened to him. Balancing the arguments on the one side and the other, anxious to determine what was for the best, desirous above all things to do his patriotic duty, he was decisively influenced by the advice of President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton, both of whom assured him that he could, at that time, be of especial value in the House of Representatives. He resigned his commission of Major-General on the fifth day of December, 1863, and took his seat in the House of Representatives on the seventh. He had served two years and four months in the Army, and had just completed his thirty-second year.

"The Thirty-eighth Congress is pre-eminently entitled in history to the designation of the War Congress. It was elected while the war was flagrant, and every member was chosen upon the issues involved in the continuance of

support of the Army and N extraordinary powers of legislat exercise. Only twenty-four Sta one hundred and eighty-two m Among these were many distin both sides, veterans in the publi reputations for ability, and wit only from parliamentary experies of men Garfield entered without it might almost be said, unexpe taking command of a division Thomas, or taking his seat in Co the last moment, so late, indeed his military commission and his were almost contemporaneous. a Major General of the United S and on Monday, in civilian's dr roll-call as a Representative in of Ohio. "He was especially fortunate i elected him. Descended almo illustrated by the unparalleled fact that Elisha Whittlesey, Joshua R. Giddings, and James A. Garfield represented the district for fifty-four years.

"There is no test of a man's ability in any department of public life more severe than service in the House of Representatives; there is no place where so little deference is paid to reputation previously acquired, or to eminence won outside; no place where so little consideration is shown for the feelings or the failures of beginners. What a man gains in the House he gains by sheer force of his own character, and if he loses and falls back he must expect no mercy, and will receive no sympathy. It is a field in which the survival of the strongest is the recognized rule, and where no pretense can deceive and no glamour can mislead. The real man is discovered, his worth is impartially weighed, his rank irreversibly decreed.

"With possibly a single exception, Garfield was the youngest member in the House when he entered, and was but seven years from his college graduation. But he had not been in his seat sixty days before his ability was recognized and his place conceded. He stepped to the front with the confidence of one who belonged there. The House contained an unusual number of strong men of both parties; nineteen of them have since been transferred to the Senate; many of them have served with distinction in the gubernatorial chairs of their respective States, and on foreign missions of great consequence. But among them all none grew so rapidly, none so firmly, as Garfield. As is said by Trevelvan of his Parliamentary hero, Garfield succeeded "because all the world in concert could not have kept him in the background, and because when once in the front he played his part with a prompt intrepidity and a commanding ease that were but the outward

tional power at command. Th and rarest distinctions of an ef counts for as much, in persuad eloquent and elaborate argument "The great measure of Garfiel service in the House of Repres life, illustrated by honorable po promise, was, as he himself felt, and necessarily incomplete. Spe might have done in a field wher few, cannot be profitable. It is s soldier he did his duty bravely; h won an enviable fame, and he re without blot or breath against bin admirably equipped for the profes said to have entered on its practi made at the bar were distinguis order of ability which he exhibit he was put to the test; and if a ma competent judge of his own caps the law was the profession to whic have been elected from the organization of the Government to this hour.

"As a parliamentary orator, as a debater on an issue squarely joined, where the position had been chosen and the ground laid out, Garfield must be assigned a very high rank. More, perhaps, than any man with whom he was associated in public life, he gave careful and systematic study to public questions, and he came to every discussion in which he took part, with elaborate and complete preparation. He was a steady and indefatigable worker. Those who imagine that talent or genius can supply the place or achieve the results of labor will find no encouragement in Garfield's life. In preliminary work he was apt, rapid, and skillful. He possessed in a high degree the power of readily absorbing ideas and facts, and, like Dr. Johnson, had the art of getting from a book all that was of value in it by a reading apparently so quick and cursory that it seemed like a mere glance at the table of contents. He was a pre-eminently fair and candid man in debate, took no petty advantages, stooped to no unworthy methods, avoided personal allusions, rarely appealed to prejudice, did not seek to inflame passion. He had a quicker eye for the strong point of his adversary than for his weak point, but on his own side he so marshaled his weighty arguments as to make his hearers forget any possible lack in the complete strength of his position. He had a habit of stating his opponent's side with such amplitude of fairness and such liberality of concession that his followers often complained that he was giving his case away. But never in his prolonged participation in the proceedings of the House did he give his case away, or fail in the judgment of competent and impartial listeners to gain the mastery.

"These characteristics, which marked Garfield as a



country, always right; but righ The parliamentary leader who that will do and dare and die believes his party always right, his party. No more important upon him than the selection of t contest. He must know not where to strike and when to str avoids the strength of his oppone confusion in his ranks by attacking really the righteousness of the c logical intrenchment are against both against the right and the he young Charles Fox, in the day the House of Commons against morial rights, against his own c that period Fox had convictions, corrupt administration, in ober sovereign, drove Wilkes from the ors of Middlesex had chosen hin

in defiance not merely of law but

of consumate ability, of great earnestness, of intense personality, differing widely each from the others, and yet with a signal trait in common—the power to command. In the give-and-take of daily discussion, in the art of controlling and consolidating reluctant and refractory followers, in the skill to overcome all forms of opposition, and to meet with competency and courage the varying phases of unlooked for assault or unsuspected defection, it would be difficult to rank with these a fourth name in all our Congressional history. But of these Mr. Clay was the greatest. It would, perhaps, be impossible to find in the parliamentary annals of the world a parallel to Mr. Clay, in 1841, when at sixty-four years of age he took the control of the Whig party from the President who had received their suffrages, against the power of Webster in the Cabinet, against the eloquence of Choate in the Senate, against the herculean efforts of Caleb Cushing and Henry A. Wise in the House. In unshared leadership, in the pride and plenitude of power, he hurled against John Tyler with deepest scorn the mass of that conquering column which had swept over the land in 1840, and drove his administration to seek shelter behind the lines of its political foes. Mr. Douglas achieved a victory scarcely less notable when, in 1854, against the secret desires of a strong administration, against the wise counsel of the older chiefs, against the conservative instincts and even the moral sense of the country, he forced a reluctant Congress to repeal the Missouri Compromise. Mr. Thaddeus Stevens in his contests from 1865 to 1868 actually advanced his parliamentary leadership until Congress tied the hands of the President and governed the country by its own will, leaving only perfunctory duties to be discharged by the Executive. With two hundred millions of patronage in his hands at the opening of the contest,

"From these three great men G differed in the quality of his mine form and phase of ambition. He did, but he could do what they breadth of his Congressional work longer exert a potential influence measured by the severe test of po secure a more enduring and more "Those unfamiliar with Garfiel ant of the details of his work, may ure them by the annals of Congre. eration of public men to which h uted so much that will prove valua His speeches are numerous, many them well studied, carefully phra the subject under consideration. tered pages of ninety royal octav sional record, they would present dium of the political events of th

through which the National Govern When the history of this period sha of fact and argument, of clear analysis and sound conclusion. Indeed, if no other authority were accessible, his speeches in the House of Representatives from December, 1863, to June, 1880, would give a well-connected history and complete defense of the important legislation of the seventeen eventful years that constitute his parliamentary life. Far beyond that, his speeches would be found to forecast many great measures yet to be completed—measures which he knew were beyond the public opinion of the hour, but which he confidedtly believed would secure popular approval within the period of his own lifetime and by the aid of his own efforts.

"Differing, as Garfield does, from the brilliant parliamentary leaders, it is not easy to find his counterpart anywhere in the record of American public life. He, perhaps, more nearly resembles Mr. Seward in his supreme faith in the all-conquering power of a principle. He had the love of learning, and the patient industry of investigation, to which John Quincy Adams owes his prominence and his Presidency. He had some of those ponderous elements of mind which distinguished Mr. Webster, and which, indeed, in all our public life have left the great Massachusetts Senator without an intellectual peer.

In English parliamentary history, as in our own, the leaders in the House of Commons present points of essential difference from Garfield. But some of his methods recall the best features in the strong, independent course of Sir Robert Peel, to whom he had striking resemblances in the type of his mind and in the habit of his speech. He had all of Burke's love for the Sublime and the Beautiful, with, possibly, something of his superabundance. In his faith and his magnanimity, in his power of statement, in his subtle analysis, in his faultless

courage for the amelioration of of the English name.

"Garfield's nomination to the anticipated, was not a surprise prominence in Congress, his solid utation, strengthened by his the ator, kept him before the public highest rank among those entitled It was not mere chance that brou "We must," says Mr. Emerson, stitutional trait. If Eric is in rol well and is at the top of his con old at his departure from Green and his ships will reach Newfon out and put in a stronger and bo will sail six hundred, one thousan farther and reach Labrador and I no chance in results." "As a candidate, Garfield ste

favor. He was met with a stor very hour of his nomination, an "Under it all he was calm, and strong, and confident; never lost his self-possession, did no unwise act, spoke no hasty or ill-considered word. Indeed, nothing in his whole life is more remarkable or more creditable than his bearing through those five full months of vituperation—a prolonged agony of trial to a sensitive man, a constant and cruel draft upon the powers of moral endurance. The great mass of these unjust imputations passed unnoticed, and with the general débris of the campaign fell into oblivion. But in a few instances the iron entered his soul, and he died with the injury unforgotten if not unforgiven.

"One aspect of Garfield's candidacy was unprecedented. Never before, in the history of partisan contests in this country, had a successful Presidential candidate spoken freely on passing events and current issues. To attempt any thing of the kind seemed novel, rash, and even desperate. The older class of voters recalled the unfortunate Alabama letter, in which Mr. Clay was supposed to have signed his political death-warrant. They remembered also the hot-tempered effusion by which General Scott lost a large share of popularity before his nomination, and the unfortunate speeches which rapidly consumed the remainder. The younger voters had seen Mr. Greeley, in a series of vigorous and original addresses, preparing the pathway for his own defeat. Unmindful of these warnings, unheeding the advice of friends, Garfield spoke to large crowds as he journeyed to and from New York in August, to a great multitude in that city, to delegations and deputations of every kind that called at Mentor during the summer and autumn. With innumerable critics, watchful and eager to catch a phrase that might be turned into odium or ridicule, or a sentence that might be distorted to his own or his party's injury, Garfield did

In the beginning of his Presid perience did not yield him pleasu duties that engross so large a po time were distasteful to him, and trasted with his legislative work. all these years with ideas," he im day, "and here I am dealing only been heretofore treating of the fu government, and here I am cons A or B shall be appointed to this earnestly seeking some practical evils arising from the distribution wieldy patronage-evils always ap cussed by him, but whose magn deeply impressed upon his mind sin Presidency. Had he lived, a comp in the mode of appointment and would have been proposed by hir

> "But, while many of the execu grateful to him, he was assiduous their discharge.

Congress, no doubt perfected.

His power of analysis, and his skill in classification, enabled him to dispatch a mass of detail with promptness and ease. His Cabinet meetings were admirably conducted. His clear presentation of official subjects, his well-considered suggestion of topics for discussion, his quick decision when all had been heard, combined to show a thoroughness of mental training as rare as his natural ability and his facile adaptation to a new and enlarged field of labor.

"With perfect comprehension of all the inheritances of the war, with a cool calculation of the obstacles in his way, impelled always by a generous enthusiasm, he conceived that much might be done by his Administration toward restoring harmony between the different sections of the Union. He was anxious to go South and speak to the people. As early as April he had ineffectually endeavored to arrange for a trip to Nashville, whither he had been cordially invited, and he was again disappointed a few weeks later to find that he could not go to South Carolina to attend the centennial celebration of the victory of the Cowpens. But for the autumn he definitely counted on being present at three memorable assemblies in the South; the celebration at Yorktown, the opening of the Cotton Exposition at Atlanta, and the meeting of the Army of the Cumberland at Chattanooga. He was already turning over in his mind his address for each occasion, and the three taken together, he said to a friend, gave him the exact scope and verge which he needed. At Yorktown he would have before him the associations of a hundred years that bound the South and the North in the sacred memory of a common danger and a common victory. At Atlanta he would present the material interests and the industrial development which appealed to the thrift and independence of every household, and which should unite the two sections by the instinct of self-inter-

" His ambition for the succes was high. With strong caution nature, he was in no danger of ments or of resorting to the emp But he believed that renewed and be given to questions affecting the commercial prospects of fifty mi lieved that our continental relati veloped as they are, involved rest cultivated into profitable friends harmful indifference or lasting em equal confidence that an essential of National progress must be a fe every section of the Union, and a benefits and burdens of governme all. Himself a conspicuous illus and ambition may do under Rep

loved his country with a passion of every waking thought was given He was an American in all his asp to the destiny and influence of the

AS SECRETARY OF STATE.

Federal Government. It would be out of place here to speak the language of controversy; but the events referred to, however they may continue to be a source of contention with others, have become, so far as the name of Garfield is involved, as much a matter of history as his heroism at Chickamauga or his illustrious service in the House. Detail is not needful, and personal antagonism shall not be rekindled by any word uttered to-day. The motives of those opposing him are not now to be adversely interpreted or their course harshly characterized. But of the dead President this is to be said, and said because his own speech is forever silenced and he can be no more heard except through the fidelity and love of surviving friends:-from the beginning to the end of the controversy he so much deplored, the President was never for one moment actuated by any motive of gain to himself or of loss to others. Least of all men did he harbor revenge, rarely did he even show resentment, and malice was not in his nature. He was congenially employed only in the exchange of good offices and the doing of kindly deeds.

"There was not an hour, from the beginning of the trouble till the fatal shot entered his body, when the President would not gladly for the sake of restoring harmony, have retraced any step he had taken, if such retracing had merely involved consequences personal to himself. The pride of consistency, or any supposed sense of humiliation that might result from surrendering his position, had not a feather's weight with him. No man was ever less subject to such influences from within or from without. But after most anxious deliberation and the coolest survey of all the circumstances, he solemnly believed that the true prerogatives of the Executive were involved in the issue which had been raised, and that he would be unfaithful to his supreme obligation if he failed

man this need not be s not be said. Justice to the dea that devolves upon the living, that in all the bearings of the su the President was content in h conscience, immovable in his con-"The religious element in C deep and earnest. In his early faith of the Disciples, a sect of munion. But the broadening te his spirit of inquiry were early ar beyond the dogmas of sect and tion. In selecting his college he r presided over by Alexander preacher of his church. His reas first, that Bethany leaned too h and, second, that being himself a Disciple parents, he had little ac of other beliefs, and he thought it liberal, quoting his own words, h general views, to go into a new c influences



GEN. JOHN A. LOGAN.





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FINITY

den by Darwin, by Huxley, by Tyndall, and by other eminent scientists. His own church, binding its disciples by no formulated creed, but accepting the Old and New Testaments as the word of God, with unbiased liberality of private interpretation, favored, if it did not stimulate, the spirit of investigation.

"But however high Garfield reasoned of "fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute," he was never separated from the Church of the Disciples in his affections and in his associations. For him it held the Ark of the Covenant. To him it was the gate of Heaven. The world of religious belief is full of solecisms and contradictions. A philosophic observer declares that men by the thousand will die in defense of a creed whose doctrines they do not comprehend and whose tenets they habitually violate. It is equally true that men by the thousand will cling to church organizations with instinctive and undying fidelity, when their belief in maturer years is radically different from that which inspired them as neophytes.

"But after this range of speculation, and this latitude of doubt, Garfield came back always with freshness and delight to the simpler instincts of religious faith, which, earliest implanted, longest survive. Not many weeks before his assassination, walking on the banks of the Potomac with a friend, and conversing on those topics of personal religion, concerning which noble natures have an unconquerable reserve, he said that he found the Lord's Prayer and the simple petitions learned in infancy infinitely restful to him, not mercify in their stated repetition, but in their casual and frequent recall as he went about the daily duties of life. Certain texts of Scripture had a strong hold on his memory and his heart. He heard, while in Edinburgh some years ago, an eminent Scotch preacher who prefaced his sermon with reading

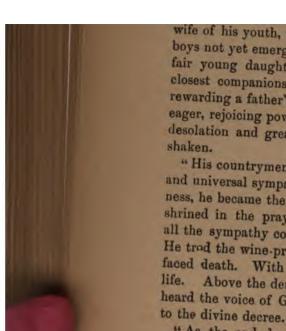
upon the radiant promise and which the great apostle of the that neither death, nor life, nor nor powers, nor things present height, nor depth, nor any other separate us from the love of Go our Lord."

"The crowning charcteristic ious opinions, as, indeed, of all erality. In all things he had chis nature. He respected in ot possessed himself—sincerity of of expression. With him the what a man believes, but doe of his friendship and his conevery creed, and men of no crelife, on his ever-lengthening I found the names of a pious honest-minded and generous-he "On the morning of Satu was a contented and happy m

strong in its grasp of affairs, strong in popular favor, and destined to grow stronger; that grave difficulties confronting him at his inauguration had been safely passed; that trouble lay behind him and not before him; that he was soon to meet the wife whom he loved, now recovering from an illness which had but lately disquieted and at times almost unnerved him; that he was going to his Alma Mater to renew the most cherished associations of his young manhood, and to exchange greetings with those whose deepening interest had followed every step of his upward progress from the day he entered upon his college course until he had attained the loftiest elevation in the gift of his countrymen.

"Surely if happiness can ever come from the honors or triumphs of this world, on that quiet July morning Garfield may well have been a happy man. No foreboding of evil haunted him; no premonition of danger clouded his sky. His terrible fate was upon him in an instant. One moment he stood erect, strong, confident in the years stretching peacefully out before him. The next he lay wounded, bleeding, helpless, doomed to weary weeks of torture, to silence, and the grave.

"Great in life, he was surpassingly great in death. For no cause, in the very frenzy of wantonness and wickedness, by the red hand of murder, he was thrust from the full tide of this world's interest, from its hopes, its aspirations, its victories, into the visible presence of death—and he did not quail. Not alone for the one short moment in which, stunned and dazed he could give up his life, hardly aware of its relinquishment, but through days of deadly languor, through weeks of agony, that was not less agony because silently borne, with clear sight and calm courage, he looked into his open grave. What blight and ruin met his anguished eyes, whose live way



wife of his youth, whose who boys not yet emerged from c fair young daughter; the st closest companionship, claim rewarding a father's love and eager, rejoicing power to mee desolation and great darkness

"His countrymen were thri and universal sympathy. Ma ness, he became the centre of shrined in the prayers of a v all the sympathy could not s He trod the wine-press alone. faced death. With unfailing Above the demoniac his heard the voice of God. In si

"As the end drew near, hi returned. The stately mansion the wearisome hospital of pain,

LINUX

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therefore disease the delical error prospersors off a start follows the set of the start of the

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wistfully upon the ocean's changing wonders; on its far sails, whitening in the morning light; on its restless waves, rolling shoreward to break and die beneath the noonday sun; on the red clouds of evening, arching low to the horizon; on the serene and shining pathway of the stars. Let us think that his dying eyes read a mystic meaning which only the rapt and parting soul may know. Let us believe that in the silence of the receding world he heard the great waves breaking on a farther shore, and felt already upon his wasted brow the breath of the eternal morning."

XVII.

CONVENTION AND CAMPAIGN OF 1884.

THOUGH the Arthur administration had done much to remove the gloom occasioned by the assassination of Garfield and to soften the asperities that divided the Republican ranks in 1882-83, and led to the defeat of the party in most of its State elections, there was still considerable factional feeling as the political situation of 1884 took shape. But as time progressed and sentiment began to chrystalize, nothing seemed to shake the firm hold Mr. Blaine had on the affection of his friends. He had carried into private life all of his well merited political renown, all his unequalled reputation for learning and eloquence, all the just confidence which had come to be reposed in his rectitude, all of the respect which a generous and loving people graciously extended to conscientious conduct and bravery of heart. And these were to grow as well in the shades of private retreat as in the sunshine of public life. Yea, faster and more luxuriantly, for there were now no dangers and embarrassments to encounter. The people were in a calm season of reflection. They could study and accord merit dispassionately. could see strength and availability much clearer than when the atmosphere was beclouded with factional smoke.

And again, retiracy with Mr. Blaine, did not mean inaction and desuetude. He could not, if he would, lose his interest in the body politic nor in the welfare of his

party. The mildew of retiracy could not settle on such an organization as his. He could not be idle. It would seem as if no public question escaped him. Not content with surface examination nor passing comments he sought the roots of pending questions, and whenever opportunity offered or occasion required, he wrote and spoke learnedly, lucidly and exhaustively. There was no obscuration of his genius by retiracy, no forgetfulness of his greatness by privacy. On the contrary, there was a daily growing admiration for his sterling qualities of head and heart, tinged, perhaps with regret that his country and party should not be all the while receiving the direct stimulus of his leadership and the immediate benefits of his ripened experience. The processes were silently at work deep down among the masses of his party, whose manifestation took the form of a resolve that he should be further honored by them with their greatest and best gift.

True, he was to be again an object of attack by his enemies, but their weapons would now fly far over his head. He was a private citizen, and attacks of any kind were both needless and wanton. Moreover, they assumed old and exploded forms, and became conspicuous only for sheer maliciousness, contributing more to the disgrace of their authors than to the injury of their object. They generally proceeded from a source outside of his party, and proved "stale, flat and unprofitable." There was, however, an element within the Republican party which, stubbornly refused to yield to the element which shaped toward the nomination of Mr. Blaine for the presidency. It was that element which chrystalized under the leadership of Senator Edmunds of Vermont, and which, at first, simply demanded independence of party machinery, but which afterward switched off into the channels of " Free

trary, he persistently refused become a candidate, although He clung to this determination every solicitation his one answ not a candidate, and shall do mote my nomination." By this that he was not aware of the p he understood it thoroughly. broad, pronounced, and as nearl possible. Personalism was to of the situation pointed to a me point to it. Yet he could no Canute the waves of the sea. of the past in Republican Nat people were free in their Congr. their choice of delegates, and " was a living principle of the par known man in his party. He repr its dominant thoughts. He was confidences, the most perfect emb ambitions, the fullest symbol of t It was thus that Republican sentiment moved along preparatory to the National Convention of 1884. Mr. Blaine was soliciting no help and creating no antagonisms. Wherever Blaine delegates were chosen, they were his by their own volition, and, therefore, his most heartily. What they might lack in cohesive strength before a convention they could make up in personal earnestness and devotion. They came from nearly every State and Territory, and if they were not to constitute a majority of the convention at the start, they represented a large majority of the Republican vote in this country.

The Eighth Republican National Convention met at Chicago, at noon, on June 3, 1884. It was composed of 820 delegates, as against 756 in the convention of 1880. The Convention Hall was a part of the Exposition Building, and had a seating capacity of 13,000. Chairman Sabin rapped the Convention to order. The National Committee had recommended the name of Powell Clayton, of Arkansas, for temporary chairman. When his name was submitted to the Convention, the name of John R. Lynch, (colored) of Mississippi, was moved as a substitute. The vote upon this was 387 for Clayton, to 431 for Lynch. While the vote was not regarded as a test of strength for any Presidential candidate, it showed that none of the names thus far mentioned could command a majority of the Convention on first ballot.

Happily there were no such serious differences to adjust as those which occasioned so much delay and bitterness in the Convention of 1880. Hon. John B. Henderson, of Missouri, was elected permanent chairman. A platform was adopted which commended the Republican party for its great achievements, lamented the death of Garfield, endorsed President Arthur's administration, favored a protective tariff, denounced Democrats for their failures.

on Friday, June 5th, the ca nomination, with the usual Augustus Brandagee, of Connec Hawley; Senator Cullom, of Logan; Martin I. Townsend, Judge Foraker, of Ohio, Senator ernor Long, of Massachusetts, th munds. The speech in which Ju inated Mr. Blaine, was a most presentation of the history and ch became the nominee of the conver the front of the platform the sens: subject at command, his fine perso with his infirmity-he was blindin the immense and enthusiastic as The nomination was seconder speeches by ex-Gov. C. K. Davi Ky., ex-Senator Platt, N. Y., and Though the Convention had not Blaine's interests, and though the o

combining, had been able to make

Blaine's friends at

ballot could be taken. Without such a show of hands as they had expected, the opposition were at sea during the night. The next day (June 6) they could not effect an adjournment in order to compare notes or agree on combinations, and the Blaine forces had practically full swing of the convention.

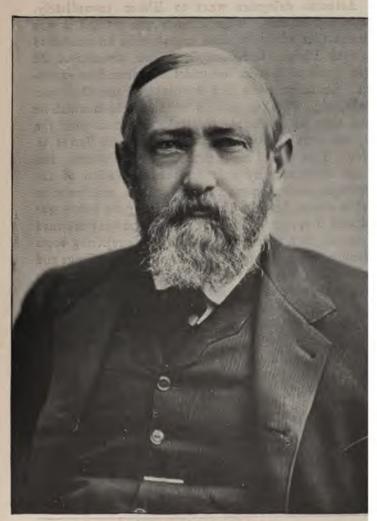
The balloting began and was carried on amid the wildest excitement. The result of the first ballot-334 1-2 for Blaine, 278 for Arthur, 93 for Edmunds, showed that the Edmunds and Arthur forces combined could not control the convention, with the aid of the minor candidates. Hence their anxiety for adjournment in order to effect a coalition. When they were defeated in this, a second ballot was taken. Blaine's vote went up to 249. His friends gave vent to their enthusiasm in cheers and vociferous demonstrations. On the third ballot his vote rose to 375. His opponents now saw that if he was to be defeated the remedy must be prompt. Judge Foraker, of Ohio, in command of the Sherman forces, moved a recess until half-past seven. The convention broke into tumult, amid which the Chairman declared the motion lost. A call for the ayes and noes was drowned by the shouts for another ballot. It was only with the greatest difficulty that the Chairman regained control of the convention, and succeeded in getting the ave and no vote on the question of adjournment. It resulted: yeas 364, nays 450. No doubt could remain after this of the nomination of Mr. Blaine, and again the delegates in his interest set the air vibrating with their shouts. In the midst of the tumult Judge Foraker moved that the rules be suspended in order that the nomination of James G. Blaine might be made by acclamation, but the opposition to this was too strong, and he withdrew his motion.

The fourth ballot proceeded in wild confusion. Six of

caned Judge Foraker made a bi stated that he had supported Je first, but that Ohio now cast Blaine. This placed his nominati friends could scarcely wait for ballot and announcement of the burst in cheers, before which all th mild and decorous. The band pla its music. In a moment the sound of cannon came through the open handkerchiefs were waved; men s and shouted themselves hoarse. joined in a triumphant huzza. Ir Mr. Blaine's friends had suffered patiently. This rich and overwhe great joy and a full reward. Following is a summary of the bal

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DEPOS S SECRET TO WHAT



BENJAMIN HARRISON.



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The glad shouts had not subsided when Congressman Burleigh, in behalf of the President's supporters, moved to make the nomination unanimous. Senators Sabin and Plumb heartily seconded the motion, and the Chair put it:

"Those who are in favor of making the nomination of James G. Blaine unanimous will say 'aye.'"

"Aye!" cried the delegates and galleries in concert.

"Those who are opposed will say 'no."

The hall was silent.

What is most significant in the above summary is the fact that every opposing element in the convention went in the end to make up Mr. Blaine's majority. Seventy-one of Mr. Arthur's votes, fifty-two of Edmunds', fifty-six and a half of Logan's, all of the two Shermans', contributed to the Blaine strength on the fourth and successful ballot.

It is needless to say that the nomination was hailed with approval throughout the country. It gave rise to ratifications everywhere, and to such demonstrations of delight and fealty as could leave no doubt of the popularity and wisdom of the choice.

Mr. Blaine's nomination was followed by the nomination of General John A. Logan, of Illinois, for the Vice Presidency, by acclamation. This was regarded as a happy combination of candidates. It embraced wide sections geographically, and insured for Mr. Blaine the support of the soldier element of his party.

Amid the excitement of the Convention, Mr. Blaine spent the time quietly at his home in Augusta, whither he had moved on Tuesday of Convention week. He had not even kept up telegraphic communication with his friends. He received the tidings of his nomination with the greatest composure, and with the casual remark that

of Augusta and neighboring cities him an ovation. To these he said:

"MY FRIENDS AND MY NEIGHBOR sincerely for the honor of this call. the world where good news comes the here at my own home; among the have been on terms of friendship at than thirty years, people whom I I me. Thanking you again for the hepliment, I bid you good night."

The Convention appointed a commost distinguished members to of Blaine of his nomination. These are June 20th, and formally acquainted of the Convention. Mr. Blaine delivereloquent response.

On July 15th, Mr. Blaine made pub

by the Democratic Convention of July 3, 1884, held in the same hall used before by the Republicans. Though Tammany Hall had opposed Cleveland, and he was comparatively unknown to the older Democracy, his nomination was regarded as a master political stroke on the part of the Convention. He had been elected Governor of New York, over Chas. J. Folger, by an unprecented majority. He was a favorite with the younger Democracy and had given a plain, sturdy administration without much reference to party wishes. The fact that New York was a pivotal State in the campaign, and that the Republican element which was opposed to Mr. Blaine, not only resided there, but had already expressed its favoritism for Mr. Cleveland, greatly added to his availability. Whatever may have been the sentiment respecting his ability as a statesman or his desire to serve the leaders of his party, the dissatisfied elements soon closed about him, and it became apparent to all that his freedom from entanglements and his newness to situations rendered him stronger than his party.

The campaign opened aggressively and bitterly by fierce attacks on the opposing candidates. These, however, soon spent their force and left the Democrats in the rather enviable position of a party whose candidate had no record as a national legislator or even politician, and had become governor with the help of a large Republican contingent. Their national platform was an instrument of generous promises and pledges, and the idea was largely and easily cultivated that "change" would not prove disastrous but rather beneficial.

The Republicans made a brilliant campaign, with their leader in the field, and an ardent advocate of the leading tenets of the party, especially those of protection and a free ballot. He visited the Western States under such

favorable auspices as to draw immense crowds and make his journey a triumphal march. His journey lasted for six weeks, and history hardly records such a succession of ovations. During this journey he spoke over four hundred times to assemblies of the people, and such was his versatility and resource that his words and ideas varied with each occasion. While his speeches were necessarily brief, they were all to the point, and their effect was to greatly strengthen the hopes of his success. Wherever he went he left his party stronger and more energetic. It might be interesting to give here a sample of some of these speeches, but as it is difficult to select, we must be content to mention that his first one was delivered in Worcester, Mass., on Sept. 18, 1884. He then entered Ohio and delivered an address at Hamilton on Oct. 1. Following now only his stated speeches, and leaving out his scores of minor ones, he spoke at Grafton, W. Va., on Oct. 6: at Lancaster, Ohio, on Oct. 11; at Flint, Mich., on Oct. 16; at Ann Arbor, on Oct. 18; at South Bend, Ind., on Oct. 18; at Fort Wayne, on Oct. 20; at Terre Haute, on Oct. 23; at Milwaukee, Wis., on Oct. 27; at Chicago, on Oct. 27; at Binghamton, N. Y., on Oct. 28; at New York, on Oct. 29; at Brooklyn, on Oct. 30; at New Haven, on Nov. 1; at Boston, on Nov. 3.

Mr. Blaine's tour placed the Western States well in line. The remainder of the contest was simple, for it turned upon New York State, with the chances somewhat against the Republicans. There the Temperance ticket was pushed with all energy, with the effect of subtracting from the Republican strength. The Greenback-Labor ticket was pushed with equal energy, with the effect of subtracting from the Democratic strength. The advantage gained by the Republicans in other States by their strong "Protection" attitude and by the personal magnet-

ism of their leader, was more than discounted in New York by the fact that the "Independents" in their ranks were mostly free traders, and by the additional fact that it was the home of the Democratic candidate.

Whether, under all the circumstances, it was wise for Mr. Blaine to visit New York at all, was and will ever remain a mooted question. However all things went favorably with his tour until the night of the celebrated reception tendered him by the united clergy of the metropolis, at which Rev. Dr. Burchard delivered his indiscreet "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion" speech. This fatal alliterative peroration was flashed through the perlieus of New York and over the country without explanation, and with the effect of creating a stampede of the Greenback Labor element back to the Democracy, or at least with the effect of furnishing the Democracy with an excuse for counting majorities they would not have dared to claim otherwise. The result of the campaign was the closest on record. Cleveland carried the one State necessary to his election by the meagre pleurality of 1,047 votes.

This was a political revolution which few anticipated at the opening and during the progress of the campaign. It brought the Democrats into power for the first time since 1861, and was a great disappointment to the Republicans, who had built sanguine hopes on the invincibility of their leader. But it was a part of the fate which politics sometimes reveal. No man was more philosophic under the defeat than the great leader himself. On Nov. 18, 1884, his friends gathered about him in Augusta to attest their warmth of affection by a serenade. He took advantage of this occasion to give his views upon the campaign and its results in an able address.

His closing words were as follows:-

LIFE OF JAMES G. BLAINE.

whether successful or unsuccessful. ay say instinctively, I have discussed the uences of that contest without refere efeat, without the remotest reference who is elevated to the Presidency. Tally I have no cause for the slightest in tire cordiality I may express the wish there will prove gratifying to himself and country, and that his administration may embarrassment which the peculiar sounposes upon it from the hour of its birth

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CITIZEN STATESMAN.

The result of the election of 1884 was not a defeat for Mr. Blaine, whatever it may have been for his party. His disappointment was keen, but not more so than would have been that of any other spirited man. It was aggravated by the fact that victory had been wrenched from him by the narrowest of all margins and by processes not beyond suspicion. Yet in all history never had self been so estranged from results. Tilden, in 1876, and for far less cause, had brought the corruptive influences of money and stealth to his vindication. Blaine acquiesced, knowing that office was no personal loss, and that his party was in no mood to claim honors by a second, and prolonged, contest.

He therefore fell naturally, if regretfully, into private life. But it was not inactive. In many respects it was most active. In not a few respects it was the most resplendent of the great man's career. The giant in repose was equal to tasks which the giant in action could not have accomplished. The calmness and meditation of a private hour resulted in an activity which transformed the statesman into the historian and gave to the nation and the world almost the equivalent of such an administration as might have been expected, had he been elected.

In its place, allusion has already been made to the publication of Blaine's renowned work, "Twenty Years in Congress." This was the crowning feature of that leisure

which followed his defeat of 1884. It was no less a substantial gift to the nation than a superb contribution to political literature. In itself it was sufficient to establish the fame of the writer, not only as an omnicient observer but as a conscientious preserver of vital facts.

The first volume of Mr. Blaine's "Twenty Years in Congress" appeared in 1884, and the second volume in 1885. The style of writing, aside from that of its politicohistoric merits, is peculiarly that of the author-lucid. fair, racy; statesman, historian and editor, in happy combination. No other work embraces so full and impartial a review of the material and political life of the nation from 1860 to 1880 as this. It instantly attracted the wide attention at home which it deserved, and equally drew foreign attention. The London Times said of it :- "It is in no sense a party manifesto, but a careful narrative; popular, but not undignified in style, and remarkably fair and moderate in tone. He has expressed a decided opinion on all issues involved in the civil war, but he is able to appreciate the arguments and respect the motives of those he holds to have been most widely mistaken."

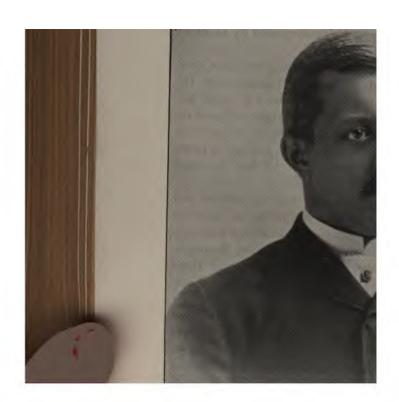
Such volumes as Mr. Blaine's "Twenty Years in Congress," may be left to speak for themselves. Were it not for the evidence of versatility and power they furnish, they might well pass as an episode in the life of one so distinguished in other fields of activity. When, however, they are followed, as they were, by another volume, in 1887, the claims of literary taste and the ambitions of authorship enter as essential factors into that fame which they could with difficulty augment. The year 1887 witnessed the publication of Mr. Blaine's "Political Discussions," a work which embraced his most important political, and other, utterances. This work will come to possess more and more value as time rolls on, for it not only

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contains the evidences of what Mr. Blaine most prized among his forensic, legislative and diplomatic efforts, but the student of his character will find in it that versatility of genius, that wonderful command of language, that exhaustive research, that magnificent marshalling of facts, that convincing logic, which gave to Blaine's speeches and writings a virility and popularity surpassed by no other statesman.

Mr. Blaine's retiracy meant the giving up, for a time, his Washington mansion on Jackson Square, near the White House. He had moved to this more subdued but elegantly appointed home from his own larger and more ostentatious mansion on Dupont Circle, whose capacity he had found to be greater than his needs, and the expense of maintaining which was more than he felt he could afford.

He withdrew from the National capital entirely and found the rest and privacy he required at his home in Augusta, Maine, and at his summer residence at Bar Harbor, on the Atlantic coast. All the conditions here conspired which were necessary for the completion of those literary labors which were to add so largely to his reputation.

The course of President Cleveland's administration and the general trend of public events had no keener observer and student than Mr. Blaine, during the period of his retiracy. He kept himself abreast of political events and in close touch with the mighty constituency of the land, whose allegiance was love and admiration, and which yearned for another opportunity to pay tribute to his broad qualifications and exalted name.

The great need of the Democratic party was something beyond the common-place which characterized the first two years of the Cleveland administration. Though Mr. Cleveland had repeatedly declared, in public speech and writing, against a second term for a President, he could no longer conceal his ambition to succeed himself, and in throwing off the disguise, the need of an issue to attract attention to himself and to promote party cohesion became all the more imperative. This issue he sought in his celebrated message to the Fiftieth Congress, Dec. 5, 1887.

It was a brief paper of 4,500 words, and was a new departure in the way of annual messages. It made no allusion to matters of public concern as found in the reports of the various heads of departments, nor to any matter of general moment, except that branch of finance which embraced taxation, customs, duties and the surplus in the Treasury. In this respect it was a special and partisan plea for definite legislature during the session. It was far removed from the position assumed by Mr. Cleveland in his former messages, and was the confession of a convert to the free-trade doctrines maintained by a majority of his party. The message was a surprise to all except the initiated. It was accepted by the Democratic leaders as a timely declaration of the issues which would enter into the next campaign, with Mr. Cleveland as their exponent. The protection Democrats regarded it as an unwise paper, and one containing the elements of sure disaster. The Republicans treated it as a direct challenge to contest the case of Free-trade vs. Protection. They criticised it for its lack of new and convincing argument; its discrimination against the protective system in general, and the item of wool in particular; its unnecessarily narrow and bitter spirit, as evinced in such expressions as :- " But our present tariff laws, the vicious, inequitable and illogical source of unnecessary taxation, ought to be at once revised and amended. They looked upon it as disingenuous, illogical

in the respect that while the President professed to be moved by an honest desire to reduce the surplus in the Treasury, he entirely, and perhaps purposely, overlooked the very easy and popular means of doing it by abolishing the internal revenue taxes—a set of taxes the Democrats had always denounced as iniquitous and savoring of war times—but selected instead a means that would prove a direct and damaging blow to American industries, and the entire system of protection.

Ere the delivery of this message, Mr. Blaine had completed his literary labors, and had gone on an extended tour to Europe. This tour embraced the leading capitals and nations of Europe. It was made leisurely and with a view to serious observation and study as well as rest and recreation. Perhaps Europe had never been visited by a more distinguished and observant student of her institutions, certainly by none more critical. America kept in touch with him as he moved along through courts and capitals, now a private observer of arts and institutions, and then the recipient of honors at the hands of enthusiastic admirers.

At the time of the promulgation of the Cleveland free-trade message, Mr. Blaine happened to be in Paris. His views of the remarkable document were at once sought, not as a matter of curiosity, but with the thought that their presentation might prove the best antidote to the vicious doctrines contained in the message. His well known advocacy of protection, his vigorous speech, his knowledge of the theme, his foresight, the fact that he was looked to as a presidential candidate in 1888, together with the necessity for an immediate and direct counter to the Cleveland assumptious, rendered the presentation of Mr. Blaine's views noteworthy, and gave to them almost the distinction of a political episode.

On December 7, 1887, the London correspondent of the New York Tribune called on Mr. Blaine in Paris, to seek his views of the President's message, which had been cabled and published in the foreign papers, as significant of a new departure in the financial policy of the United States. Mr. Blaine assented to an interview, which was carefully noted by an expert stenographer. He began by saying:

"I have been reading an abstract of the President's message and have been especially interested in the comments of the London papers. Those papers all assume to declare that the message is a free trade manifesto, and evidently are anticipating an enlarged market for English fabrics in the United States as a consequence of the President's recommendations. Perhaps that fact stamped the character of the message more clearly than any words of mine can."

"You don't mean actual free trade without duty?" queried the reporter.

"No," replied Mr. Blaine. "Nor do the London papers mean that. They simply mean that the President has recommended what in the United States is known as a revenue tariff, rejecting the protective feature as an object and not even permitting protection to result freely as an incident to revenue duties. I mean, that for the first time in the history of the United States the President recommends retaining the internal tax in order that the tariff may be forced down even below the fair revenue standard. He recommends that the tax on tobacco be retained, and thus that many millions annually shall be levied on a domestic product which would far better come from a tariff on foreign fabrics."

"Then do you mean to imply that you would favor the repeal of the tobacco tax?"

"Certainly; I mean just that," said Mr. Blaine. "I should urge that it be done at once, even before the Christmas holidays. It would in the first place bring great relief to growers of tobacco all over the country, and would moreover, materially lessen the price of the article to consumers.

"Tobacco to millions of men is a necessity. The President calls it a luxury, but it is a luxury in no other sense than tea and coffee are luxuries. It is well to remember that the luxury of yesterday becomes a necessity of today. Watch, if you please, the number of men at work on the farm, in the coal-mine, along the railroad, in the iron foundry, or in any calling, and you will find 95 in 100 chewing while they work. After each meal the same proportion seek the solace of a pipe or a cigar. These men not only pay the millions of the tobacco tax, but pay on every plug and every cigar an enhanced price which the tax enables the manufacturer and retailer to impose. The only excuse for such a tax is the actual necessity under which the Government found itself during the war, and the years immediately following. To retain the tax now in order to destroy the protection which would incidentally flow from raising the same amount of money on foreign imports is certainly a most extraordinary policy for our Government."

"Well, then, Mr. Blaine, would you advise the repeal of the whiskey tax also?"

"No, I would not. Other considerations than those of financial administration are to be taken into account with regard to whiskey. There is a moral side to it. To cheapen the price of whiskey is to increase its consumption enormously. There would be no sense in urging the reform wrought by high license in many States if the National Government neutralizes the good

effect by making whiskey within reach of every one at twenty cents a gallon. Whiskey would be everywhere distilled if the surveillance of the Government were withdrawn by the remission of the tax, and illicit sales could not then be prevented even by a policy as rigorous and searching as that with which Russia pursues the Nihilists. It would destroy high license at once in all the States."

"Whiskey has done a vast deal of harm in the United States. I would try to make it do some good. I would use the tax to fortify our cities on the seaboard. In view of the powerful letter addressed to the Democratic party on the subject of fortifications by the late Mr. Samuel J. Tilden in 1885, I am amazed that no attention has been paid on the subject by the Democratic Administration. Never before in the history of the world has any government allowed great cities on the seaboard, like New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, New Orleans and San Francisco, to remain absolutely defenceless."

"But," said the reporter, "you don't think we are to have war in any direction?"

"Certainly not," said Mr. Blaine. "Neither, I presume, did Mr. Tilden when he wrote his remarkable letter. But we should change a remote chance into an absolute impossibility. If our weak and exposed points were strongly fortified, if to-day we had by any chance even such a war as we had with Mexico, our enemy could procure ironclads in Europe that would menace our great cities with destruction or lay them under contribution."

"But would not our fortifying now possibly look as if we expected war?"

"Why should it any more than the fortifications made

seventy or eighty years ago by our grandfathers when they guarded themselves against successful attack from the armaments of that day? We don't necessarily expect a burglar because we lock our doors at night, but if by any possibility a burglar comes it contributes vastly to our peace of mind and our sound sleep to feel that he can't get in."

"But after the fortifications should be constructed would you still maintain the tax on whiskey?"

"Yes," said Mr. Blaine, "so long as there is whiskey to tax I would tax it, and when the National Government should have no use for the money I would divide the tax among the members of the Federal Union with the specific object of lightening the tax on real estate. The houses and farms of the whole country pay too large a proportion of the total taxes. If ultimately relief could be given in that direction it would, in my judgment, be a wise and beneficent policy. Some honest but misguided friends of temperance have urged that the Government should not use the money derived from the tax on whiskey. My reply is that the tax on whiskey by the Federal Government, with its suppression of all illidistillation and consequent enhancement of price been a powerful agent in the temperance reform ting it beyond the reach of so many. whiskey consumed in the United State is not more than forty per cent. of years ago."

After a few moments' silence Mri his judgment the whiskey tax shou to permit all who use pure alcoholmechanical pursuits to have it free cases the tax should be remitted with just as now the tax on spirits export.



a social and financial revolution, one that would bring untold distress."

"Yes, but might not the great farming class be benefited by importing articles from Europe, instead of buying them at higher prices at home?"

"The moment," answered Mr. Blaine, "you begin to import freely from Europe you drive our own workmen from mechanical and manufacturing pursuits. In the same proportion they become tillers of the soil, increasing steadily the agricultural product and decreasing steadily the large home demand, which is constantly enlarging as home manufactures enlarge. That, of course, works great injury to the farmer, glutting the market with his products and tending constantly to lower prices."

"Yes, but the foreign demand for farm products would be increased in like ratio, would it not?"

"Even suppose it were," said Mr. Blaine, "how do you know the source from which it will be supplied? The tendency in Russia to-day and in the Asiatic possessions of England is toward a large increase of the grain supply. the grain being raised by the cheapest possible labor. Manufacturing countries will buy their breadstuffs where they can get them cheapest, and the enlarging of the home market for the American farmer being checked he would search in vain for one of the same value. His foreign sales are already checked by the great competition abroad. There never was a time when the increase of a large home market was so valuable to him. The best proof is that the farmers are prosperous in proportion to the nearness of manufacturing centres, and a protective tariff tends to spread manufactures. In Ohio and Indiana, for example, though not classed as manufacturing States, the annual value of frabrics is larger than the annual value of agricultural products."

"But those holding the President's views," remarked the reporter, "are always quoting the great prosperity of the country under the tariff of 1846."

"The tariff did not involve the one destructive point recommended by the President, namely, the retaining of direct internal taxes in order to abolish indirect taxes levied on foreign fabrics. But the country had peculiar advantages under it by the Crimean war, involving England, France and Russia, and largely impairing their trade. All these incidents, or accidents, if you choose, were immensely stimulating to trade in the United States, regardless of the nature of our tariff. But mark the end of this European experience with the tariff of 1846, which for a time gave an illusory and deceptive show of prosperity. Its enactment was immediately followed by the Mexican war; then in 1848 by the great convulsions of Europe; then in 1849 and succeeding years by the enormous gold yield in California. The Powers made peace in 1856, and at the same time the output of gold in California fell off. Immediately the financial panic of 1857 came upon the country with disastrous force. Though we had in these years mined a vast amount of gold in California, every bank in New York was compelled to suspend specie payment. Four hundred millions in gold had been carried out of the country in eight years to pay for foreign goods that should have been manufactured at home, and we had years of depression and distress as an atonement for our folly.

"It is remarkable that President Polk recommended the tariff of 1846 on precisely the same ground that President Cleveland recommends a similar enactment now, namely, the surplus in the Treasury was menacing the prosperity of the country. History is repeating itself. By the way," Mr. Blaine added, after a moment's reflection, "it is

worth notice that Mr. Polk insisted on emptying the Treasury by a free-trade tariff, then immediately rushed the country into debt by borrowing \$150,000,000 for the Mexican war. I trust nothing may occur to repeat so disastrous a sequel to the policy recommended by President Cleveland. But the uniform fate has been for fifty years past that the Democratic party when it goes out of power always leaves an empty Treasury, and when it returns to power always finds a full Treasury."

"Then do you mean to imply that there should be no reduction of the National revenue?"

"No, what I have said implies the reverse. I would reduce it by a prompt repeal of the tobacco tax and would make here and there some changes in the tariff not to reduce protection, but wisely foster it. No great system of revenue like our tariff can operate with efficiency and equity unless the changes of trade be closely watched and the law promptly adapted to those changes. But I would make no change that should impair the protective character of the whole body of the tariff laws. Four years ago, in the Act of 1883, we made changes of the character I have tried to indicate. If such changes were made, and the fortifying of our seacoast thus undertaken at a very moderate annual outlay, no surplus would be found after that already accumulated had been disposed of. The outlay of money on fortifications, while doing great service to the country, would give good work to many men."

"But what about the existing surplus?"

"The abstract of the message I have seen," replied Mr. Blaine, "contains no reference to that point. I, therefore, make no comment further than to endorse Mr. Fred Grant's remark that a surplus is always easier to handle than a deficit."

The reporter repeated the question whether the President's recommendation would not, if adopted, give us the

advantage of a large increase in exports.

"I only repeat," answered Mr. Blaine, "that it would vastly enlarge our imports, while the only export it would seriously increase would be our gold and silver. That would flow out bounteously just as it did under the tariff of 1846. The President's recommendation enacted into law would result as did an experiment in drainage of a man who wished to turn a swamp into a productive field. He dug a drain to a neighboring river, but it happened, unfortunately, that the level of the river was higher than the level of the swamp. The consequence need not be told. A parallel would be found when the President's policy in attempting to open a channel for an increase of exports should simply succeed in making way for a deluging inflow of fabrics to the destruction of home industry."

"But don't you think it important to increase our

export trade?"

"Undoubtedly; but it is vastly more important not to lose our own great market for our own people in the vain effort to reach the impossible. It is not our foreign trade that has caused the wonderful growth and expansion of the republic. It is the vast domestic trade between thirty-eight States and eight Territories, with their population of, perhaps, 62,000,000 to-day. The whole amount of our export and import trade together has never, I think, reached \$1,900,000,000 any one year. Our internal home trade on 130,000 miles of railway, along 15,000 miles of ocean coast, over the five great lakes and along 20,000 miles of navigable rivers, reaches the enormous annual aggregate of more than \$40,000,000,000, and perhaps this year \$50,000,000,000.

"It is into this illimitable trade, even now in its infancy

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pears upo fact the Timere are are energiting to cause. It is the fact the Timere are are energiting to cause. It is the fact the fact the fact that the fact the fact that the continuous trade—and the profit is all our own. The genuine force Desire appears that the second our compenious that this continuous trade—and our exchanges with Barryn—is the grown course of our prospective. The side of Christiani non plaintly proposes a policy that will admit Barryn to a share of this trade."

- But you are in hour of extending our insign units.

"Certainty I am, in all practical and advantageous ways, but not on the principle of the Free-Trades, by which we shall be constantly exchanging drillar for dime. Measurer, the fareign trade is often very delastive. (We ton is manufactured in the city of my residence. If a box of cotton goods is sent 200 miles to the province of New-Brunswick, it is foreign trade. If shipped 17,000 miles round Cape Horn to Washington Terribay, it is domestic trade. The magnitude of the Union and the immensity of its internal trade require a new political economy. The treatises written for European States do not grasp our peculiar situation."

"How will the President's message be taken in the South?" "I don't dare to answer that question. The truth has been so long obscured by certain local questions of unreasoning prejudice that nobody can hope for industrial enlightenment among their leaders just yet. But in my view the South above all sections of the Union needs a protective tariff. The two Virginias, North Carolina, Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, Alabama and Georgia have enormous resources and facilities for developing and

handling manufacturers. They cannot do anything without protection. Even progress so vast as some of those
States have made will be checked if the President's message is enacted into law. Their Senators and Representatives can prevent it, but they are so used to following
anything labelled 'Democratic' that very probably they
will follow the President and blight the progress already
made. By the time some of the Southern States get free
iron ore and coal, while tobacco is taxed, they may have
occasion to sit down and calculate the value of Democratic free trade to their local interests."

"Will not the President's recommendation to admit raw material find strong support?"

"Not by wise Protectionists in our time. Perhaps some greedy manufacturers may think that with free coal or free iron ore they can do great things, but if they should succeed in trying, will, as the boys say, catch it on the rebound. If the home trade in raw material is destroyed or seriously injured railroads will be the first to feel it. If that vast interest is crippled in any direction the financial fabric of the whole country will feel it quickly and seriously. If any man can give a reason why we should arrange the tariff to favor the raw material of other countries in a competition against our material of the same kind, I should like to hear it. Should that recommendation of the President be approved it would turn 100,000 American laborers out of employment before it had been a year in operation."

"What must be the marked and general effect of the President's message?"

"It will bring the country where it ought to be brought—to a full and fair contest on the question of protection.

The President himself makes it the one issue by presenting no other in his message. I think it well to have the

question settled. The Democratic party in power is a standing menace to the industrial prosperity of the country. That menace should be removed or the policy it foreshadows should be made certain. Nothing is so mischievous to business as uncertainty, nothing so paralyzing as doubt."

This interview was published in New York on December 8th, or within two days after the publication of President Cleveland's message. The Republican party hailed it with delight, as a most effective reply to the Democratic pronunciamento; and on that date the issues were joined and the Presidential campaign of 1888 was begun.

CHAPTER XIX.

AGAIN SECRETARY OF STATE.

* As the time for holding the Republican National Convention of 1888 drew near, a very pronounced element of the party, and a majority outside of the leaders, looked to Mr. Blaine as a certain candidate. True, he was absent from the country, and had been for some time, but distance had not diminished that popular esteem which welled spontaneously from the bosoms of his admirers. True, he had lost by time and distance those little intimacies and minor affiliations which count for so much among politicians when personal ambitions are to be served or where lines of candidature are to be established in advance. True, also, it had been given out that Mr. Blaine was averse to a nomination. The latter story was credited to the imagination of his opponents. Everything else, hostile to the thought and desire of his nomination, was cast aside by his friends, or securely buried beneath the reasons which moved them to demand his nomination. His reverses had intensified their determination to stand by him. The tantalizing results of 1884 called for another trial, and especially since everything pointed to the re-nomination of Cleveland, his old antagonist. The spirit of revenge burned within the breasts of those who had felt the dissappointments of that doubtful battle, far more than Mr. Blaine himself had done. The issues were those which were best calculated to call forth that championship of which Mr. Blaine was master. For these, and all other considerations, Mr. Blaine was not only a favorite, but a choice, far in advance of the Convention. He was, with his friends, the logical, the only candidate. They admitted no questions of expediency into their reasonings, and refused to modify the warmth and steadfastness of their support by anything which ran counter to their wishes.

Mr. Cleveland was nominated on June 5, at St. Louis. The Oregon State election had been fought on the issues contained in Cleveland's message of 1887, and the Republicans had gained an overwhelming victory. This served to freshen the Blaine reply to the message and to intensify the desire to see him pitted directly against the great modern exponent of free trade.

Both the friends and opponents of Mr. Blaine admit the impossibility of doing historic justice to his great name, during the year 1888, through use of the literature which constituted the rumors and passions of the hour There was no serenity of the party mind, no calm judgments of the events which involved Mr. Blaine's character and political fortunes. Dispassionate history may come to look on him as the victim of his friends, not intentionally of course, but through excess of enthusiasm, through disrespect of conditions which Mr. Blaine could, from his remote standpoint, weigh more deliberately than any one else. Even at this early date, it is not to be doubted that Mr. Blaine's physical condition was overlooked by his admirers, and that much of his reluctance to assume the responsibilities of a campaign and of office was due, not perhaps so much to actual disease, as to the dread of permanent impairment of a system already taxed to the uttermost by overwork, and so highly organized as to make it extremely sensitive to its environment. It is equally certain that there were other considerations operating with Mr. Blaine, no one of which might have been sufficient to induce him to decline a nomination, but whose cumulative effect he could not ignore. Any and all of said reasons he was under no obligation to explain. Indeed he could not have explained them with any sense of propriety, for, as with the question of health, that was a removable obstacle, and as to all other matters, he could have taken no pride in pandering to idle inquiry or curiosity.

Mr. Blaine had the reasons which weigh with great men for his attitude toward his friends and his party during 1888. These were sufficient for him. At the very beginning of the year, when party sentiment began to shape in his favor, he wrote home what became known as his "Florence Letter," with a view to keeping his name out of political controversy, and to letting sentiment take that natural direction toward candidates, which it might not otherwise do. With any other man, or at any other time, such a letter would have served the purposes of the writer. But in this instance it failed entirely of its object, and almost seemed to inflame the wishes and intentions it was designed to stifle. It ran as follows:—

FLOBENCE, Jan. 25, 1888.—Mr. B. F. Jones, Chairman Republican National Committee—SIR: I wish through you to state to the members of the Republican party that my name will not be presented to the National Convension called to assemble in Chicago in June next for the nomination of President and Vice-President of the United States. I am constrained in this decision by considerations entirely personal to myself, of which you were advised more than a year ago. But I cannot make this announcement without giving expression to my deep sense of gratitude to the many thousands of my countrymen

who have sustained me so long and so cordially with their feelings, which seemed to go beyond the ordinary political adherence of fellow partisans and to partake somewhat of the nature of personal attachment. For this most generous loyal friendship I can make no adequate return, and shall carry the memory of it while life lasts.

bling of station radio flant is by James, G. Blaine.

As the date of the Convention approached, and the questions of candidature assumed shape, the friends of Mr. Blaine became more and more determined to present his name to the Convention. Confidence in their ability to nominate him led them to construe his letter as not absolutely conclusive, and to believe that he would not refuse a nomination if tendered to him with a flattering degree of unanimity. Information of this state of affairs reached him at Paris in May 1888, and he wrote as follows:—

has been all to visualine ball "PARIS, May 17, 1888.

"Hon. Whitelaw Reid, Editor New York Tribune."

"DEAR SIR:—Since my return to Paris from Southern Italy, the 4th inst, I have learned (what I did not believe) that my name may yet be presented to the National Convention as a candidate for the Presidential nomination of the Republican party. A single phrase of my letter of January 25, from Florence (which was decisive of everything I had personal power to decide), has been treated by some of my most valued friends as not absolutely conclusive in ultimate and possible contingencies. On the other hand, there are some equally devoted and disinterested persons who have construed my letter (as it should be construed) to be an unconditional withdrawal of my name from the National Convention. They have, in con-

sequence, given their support to eminent gentlemen who are candidates for the Chicago nomination, some of whom would not, I am sure, have consented to assume that position if I had desired to represent the party in the Presidential contest of 1888. If I should now, by speech, or by silence, by commission or omission, permit my name in any event to come before the convention, I should incur the reproach of being uncandid with those who have always been candid with me. I speak, therefore, because I am not willing to remain in a doubtful attitude. I am not willing to be the cause of misleading a single man among the millions who have given me their suffrage and their confidence. I am not willing that even one of my faithful supporters in the past should think me capable of paltering in a double sense with my words. Assuming that the Presidential nomination could by any possible chance be offered to me, I could not accept it without leaving in the minds of thousands of these men the impression that I had not been free from indirection, and therefore I could not accept it at all. The misrepresentations of malice have no weight, but the just displeasure of my friends I could not patiently endure. * * * *

" JAMES G. BLAINE."

It is difficult to conceive of how ideas could have been clearer or language more emphatic. Yet with all this there were those who, with a strange fatuity, persisted in showing their friendship and love for him by urging his name on the convention and insisting that he should be nominated.

The Republican Convention met at Chicago, June 19, 1888. There were many aspirants for nomination in the field, among whom were John Sherman, Ohio; Chauncey M. Depew, New York; William Walter Phelps, New

Jersey; Walter Q. Gresham, Illinois; Benjamin Harrison, Indiana; William E. Allison, Iowa; Russel A. Alger, Mich.; and Edward A. Fitler, Pa. Notwithstanding this array of candidates and this adaptation to geography, and the varied interests of the party, and notwithstanding the letters conveying explicit information as to Mr. Blaine's attitude, a powerful contingent in the convention kept his name prominently before it, and every mention of it was the signal for pronounced applause. Not for six days did the idea dissipate among his friends that he could not be nominated in spite of himself, and that if nominated with any degree of acclamation he would decline to accept. It was thus that his friends virtually held the convention and insisted on the chances evoked by the use of his name.

The situation remained thus till June 25, when were read the following dispatches, following each other in such rapid succession as to lead to the inference that Blaine was thoroughly alarmed at the indiscretion of his friends:—

"EDINBURGH, June 24.—To Boutelle and Manley, Chicago.—Earnestly request my friends to respect my Paris letter. "James G. Blaine."

EDINBURGH, June 24.—To Boutelle and Manley, Chicago.—I think I have a right to ask my friends to respect my wishes and refrain from voting for me. Please make this and the former despatch public.

"JAMES G. BLAINE."

These dispatches at once clarified the political atmosphere, and the work of balloting began, but every ballot showed how loth Mr. Blaine's friends were to resign his name entirely. Even on the eighth, and final ballot,

which nominated Benjamin Harrison, by 544 votes, Mr. Blaine received five votes.

Mr. Blaine acquiesced most cordially in the result of the convention. Harrison's nomination had been made possible by the Blaine forces, and Mr. Blaine was too much of a politician as well as too much a lover of Republican principles to cherish disappointment when it was apparent that party victory could only be assured by locating the candidates in the two doubtful States of Indiana and New York. Among the flood of congratulations which poured in upon Mr. Harrison, none were more hearty than those of Mr. Blaine, and no man entered more enthusiastically into the campaign nor indulged more sanguine hopes of victory at the polls.

It was August before Mr. Blaine returned from his European tour. On the tenth of that month he arrived in New York and was enthusiastically welcomed by his admiring countrymen. A vast parade was formed in his honor, and the metropolis gave itself up to an ovation such as it had not witnessed before. Throughout the many scenes and varied speeches, Mr. Blaine distinguished himself by a demeanor and a line of thought that typed his thorough Americanism and endeared him to every witness, irrespective of party. He struck with thunderous vigor the campaign key-note of protection, and embellished the stated arguments by the fresh observations made during his extended travels in Europe. Applause was accorded him at every scene, of which he was the centre. His trip from New York to Augusta was a continuous ovation. The cities along the route vied with each other in extending honors. His presence and voice seemed to thrill all who saw and heard, and his name imparted a glow of enthusiasm to the campaign.

After a few weeks of rest at his Augusta home he took

the field for his party and principles. He visited many cities and States, addressing audiences swollen beyond the capacity of ordinary chambers and halls. Many days brought forth two to three of his inimitable addresses, and each day seemed to add to the brilliancy and efficacy of his speech. His physical resource seemed to be as inexhaustible as his mental. Conviction entered the minds of all whose ears hearkened to his eloquence and logic. Blaine never was so effective as in this campaign. Self was eliminated. He spoke briefly and pointedly. His very presence was an argument. Eclat preceded and followed him. At no time in his career was Blaine greater, because never so intense and disinterested. The result of the campaign, the splendid victory of Harrison and the Republican party was as much due to Mr. Blaine as to any other one man. It was therefore fitting that fresh honors should fall in his way.

President Harrison tendered him the post of premier in his cabinet. In doing so, he not only accorded what was due, but met the universal wish of his party. It was to the incoming administration an assurance of attainment which could not be surpassed. It was to Mr. Blaine the revival of an opportunity which had been cruelly denied him when Garfield fell beneath the assassin's bullet.

Mr. Blaine found himself, March 4, 1889, under a President in whom he had faith, and at the head of a brilliant cabinet. He was the centre of unbounded confidence, and upon a scene he could not help but adorn. He at once gave to his office the ripeness of his experience and the vigor of his original powers. Many delicate questions had come over from the previous administration whose adjudication could not longer be postponed with credit to American diplomacy and national honor. Of these Mr. Blaine at once took vi zorous grasp.

The earliest was the Samoan question, a legacy from his predecessor in office. The object of England and Germany had long been to seize this group of islands and establish a protectorate over them. The King had been deposed, and a rival set up. The deposed King had appealed in vain to the United States. The rights of American citizens had been placed in jeopardy. The matter had dragged a slow and exasperating length throughout nearly the whole of the Cleveland administration, much to the disgrace of American diplomacy. Mr. Blaine at once asserted the "Monroe Doctrine," calmly but firmly insisted on the restoration of the rightful King and on the preservation of all established rights, and soon had the satisfaction of witnessing a treaty between the contending countries which avoided open war and secured the status quo of the islands in question.

This was not more a victory for Mr. Blaine over countries skilled in diplomacy and naturally greedy for strategic positions, than as a notice to all the world that the United States could be capable of a vigorous foreign policy with the proper man at the helm.

Mr. Bayard, Mr. Blaine's predecessor, had carried on extended negotiations with Great Britain, looking to the ratification of a new extradition treaty. The negotiations had failed at every point. Mr. Blaine took the matter up, began negotiations on a new basis, and very soon had the satisfaction of seeing his efforts crowned by a treaty which greatly enlarged the list of extraditable offenses and achieved all the objects to be obtained by such international agreements. He also witnessed the assembly of the International Marine Conference at Washington, which was attended by thirty-three nations, and whose work resulted in much legislation calculated to protect travel by sea.

Still more important was the Pan-American Conference, which opened at Washington on October 2, 1889, in pursuance of the plans formed by Mr. Blaine in the Garfield administration but unfortunately abandoned by his successor. This conference was in session twenty weeks, including an extended trip through most of the States of the Union. The objects of its consideration were: Measures that should tend to preserve the peace and promote the prosperity of the various American States; measures toward the formation of an American Customs Union: the establishment of regular and frequent communication between the ports of the various States; the adoption of uniform systems of customs regulation, quarantine laws, weights and measures, patent rights, extradition, etc., and various other allied topics. It was not to be expected that every end in view would be immediately attained. But the discussions and reports were rich in permanent value to all the nations interested, and, as Mr. Blaine well said in a brief address at the close of the conference, that larger patriotism, which constitutes the fraternity of nations, received an impulse such as the world had not before seen.

Fittingly succeeding this came Mr. Blaine's proposal for an extended system of customs reciprocity, especially with the various States and colonies of the American continent. This was formally broached in a letter written by Mr. Blaine to the President and by him transmitted to Congress in June, 1890. Mr. Blaine submitted therewith the report upon "Customs Union" adopted by the Pan-American Conference, and added some strong arguments of his own and a most impressive array of facts and figures, demonstrating the great advantages to be attained by the adoption of such a system. "To escape the delay and uncertainty of treaties," he wrote, "it has been sug-

gested that a practicable and prompt mode of testing the question was to submit an amendment to the pending Tariff bill, authorizing the President to declare the ports of the United States free to all the products of any nation of the American Hemisphere upon which no export duties are imposed, whenever and so long as such nation shall admit to its ports, free of all taxes our flour, corn meal and other bread stuffs, preserved meats, fish, vegetables and fruits," and a considerable number of other articles of agricultural and manufactory product.

Mr. Blaine had already personally urged upon the members of the committee of Congress in charge of the Tariff bill the desirability of such an amendment. The President now added thereto a message containing his own recommendations to the same effect, and Senator Hale finally offered an amendment to the Tariff bill formulated by Mr. McKinley, comprising the exact provisions suggested by Mr. Blaine. This amendment was adopted and the principle of reciprocity with American nations was thus embodied in the McKinley Tariff Bill, which in the fall of 1890 became a law.

Brazil was the first nation to accept the offer of reciprocal trade relations. The Spanish West Indies followed. Then came Santo Domingo. And presently other South and Central American nations and even the British colonies in the West Indies found it to their advantage to do the same. The results fully equalled the expectations of the author of the system. Almost immediately there was a great increase in the export trade of the United States to those countries, and since that time there has been a steady and almost significant increase of commercial relations between this country and its southern neighbors, to the present and permanent advantage of both.

Another highly important work in the interest of

American commerce was effected by the State Department during Mr. Blaine's second administration thereof. Beginning with Italy in 1879, one European country after another had prohibited the importation of American pork, until, at the commencement of President Harrison's administration, that important product was practically excluded from the markets of Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Denmark, Italy, Spain and Turkey. This subject received at once the earnest attention of the President and his Secretary of State, and instructions concerning it were given to Mr. Whitelaw Reid, the Minister at Paris, Mr. William Walter Phelps, the Minister at Berlin, and the other representatives of the government abroad. A law was also passed providing for the inspection of meat products and empowering the President to prohibit in certain cases importations from countries excluding American pork from their markets. The result of this diplomacy and legislation was the removal of the prohibition by Austria-Hungary, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy and Spain, all within less than nine months, and the markets of Europe were thus reopened to a vast and valuable American export trade.

For some years there had been more or less friction between America and England regarding the rights of American fishermen in Canadian waters. In many instances intolerable hardships and outrages had been inflicted upon the fishermen, and their demand for redress was urgent. To this demand Mr. Blaine made prompt response, and showed himself easily the master of the Canadian and British officials in diplomatic controversy. Another still more important subject of contention between the two countries was that of sealing rights in Bering Sea. In virtue of its purchase of Alaska and the included waters from Russia, the United States claimed

exclusive jurisdiction over the eastern portion of that sea. including the islands which are the resort of the great herds of fur-seals. For the protection of these valuable animals it adopted certain regulations concerning their capture, limiting the annual catch to a certain number, and stationed revenue cutters in those waters to see that the law was observed. These regulations were defied by numerous poachers, who fitted out their vessels under the British flag in Canadian ports and who wrought incalculable mischief by promiscuous slaughter of the seals. The United States Government promptly ordered the capture and confiscation of all these vessels. Thereupon the poachers appealed to the Canadian Government, and it in turn appealed to the British Government, for protection, and a long and vigorous controversy ensued between Mr. Blaine and Lord Salisbury. The range of discussion included the rights of America in Bering Sea, on historical and legal grounds, and also the practical necessity of protecting the seal herds from threatened destruction. At every stage of the controversy Mr. Blaine showed himself absolute master of the case and more than a match for his British antagonist. A modus vivendi, in accordance with the American demands, was finally established and a permanent commission was established, to which all matters in dispute were referred.

An important episode in the history of the State Department occurred in 1891 and 1892. At that time a popular revolution occurred in Chili against the President, Balmaceda, who had usurped dictatorial authority and was playing the part of a tyrant. The American Minister at Santiago, Mr. Egan, was accredited to the Balmaceda government and could not, of course, recognize the revolutionary government until it had fully accomplished its purposes and become the sole and abso-

lute authority. His position was a delicate one, and relations between the United States and the new government in Chili became much strained. A number of American sailors were assaulted and one murdered in the streets of Valparaiso, and for a time there was loud talk of war between the two countries. Under Mr. Blaine's management the influence of the State Department was exerted in the direction of peace, and at the same time for a vindication of the honor of the American flag and the rights of American citizens; and in the end these objects were entirely and satisfactorily accomplished.

A controversy arose with Italy in 1891, over the lynching of several murderous criminals of Italian origin in New Orleans. Diplomatic relations between the two countries were for a time suspended. But Mr. Blaine, by masterly argument, first demonstrated the entire freedom of the United States Government from blame and responsibility in the matter, and then handsomely soothed Italian susceptibilities by voluntarily offering from the contingent fund of the State Department a liberal indemnity to the families of the men who had been lynched. Thus this unpleasant incident was ended peacefully and honorably.

These are the leading measures which Mr. Blaine brought to a culmination in his vigorous management of the State Department. Many others of equal importance and more far-reaching moment, as, for instance, that of Canadian reciprocity, found an inception in his fertile mind and were put on the road to solution. No administration in the history of our country had had so vigorous a foreign policy, and none had been so distinguished for its diplomatic achievements. The foreign governments which had feared Mr. Blaine as an aggressist, found in him the fairest of diplomats, and they had nothing but

admiration for his firmness and tact. He shed lustre on his chief and added laurels to his own fame.

He had found, during the first year of his premiership, a valuable assistant in his son Walter, who bade fair to develop into a diplomat of renown. But the young man was removed by death. The blow was a sad one to Mr. Blaine, who was almost simultaneously called upon to mourn the death of his daughter, Mrs. Coppinger. These afflictions told heavily on Mr. Blaine's spirits and indisposed him for the cares of office. They told equally on his physical system, and forced that rest which he sought during the summer and autumn of 1891, at his Augusta home and his Bar Harbor cottage.

This period of rest and semi-retiracy was an anxious one for the friends of Mr. Blaine. It was feared that disease had fixed itself permanently on his vitals and that his days of usefulness were over. He became the victim of newspaper inquisitors and the subject of exaggerated daily bulletins, much to his annoyance and that of his family. The rest and recreation he sought were denied him to such an extent that his return to the duties of his office were postponed to a period far beyond that which he had contemplated. When he did return, however, he seemed to bring along his usual interest in affairs of State, and to enter upon a career as full of promise as ever. But this was not to last. The diplomat, to whom all questions of statecraft were easy, found himself confronted with problems and surrounded with complications, which only his resignation could unravel.

CHAPTER XX.

FINAL RETIRACY FROM PUBLIC LIFE.

As party sentiment began to shape for the presidential struggle of 1892, Mr. Blaine found himself in very much the position he was in prior to 1888. His friends were equally ardent in his behalf, equally confident of their ability to make him the nominee of the party, and equally assured of his triumph at the polls, if nominated. Now as then, Mr. Blaine was equally silent as to his aspirations, and equally free from the combinations and machinations which make for success before conventions.

But while this was true of a position as made for him by his admirers, the resemblance did not hold in other respects. Mr. Blaine was no longer in a foreign land, but upon the scene of political action. He was not only present in the country but an occupant of high office. He had added to the esteem in which he was held by an administration of the Department of State at once vigorous and brilliant. But he was an official incumbent, and his chief was a likely candidate for re-nomination. Any mention of Mr. Blaine's name in connection with the presidency, under the circumstances, could hardly be other than embarrassing. Most especially would embarrassment ensue if efforts in his behalf should take the shape of antagonism to the chances of his chief, to whom he was thoroughly loyal.

The call for the Republican National Convention was made in November 1891, and it was to meet in Chicago on





importance in their own States which was necessary to save their party from disaster.

Out of the situation, clear to even the uninitiated, grew a motive, all compelling on the part of Mr. Blaine, if his relationship to the administration was to be maintained. He undoubtedly weighed it well. His decision was that he could not be a candidate. He embodied this decision in the following letter to Chairman Clarkson:—

WASHINGTON, Feb. 6, 1892.

HON. J. S. CLARKSON,

Chairman Republican National Committee.

MY DEAR SIR :-

I am not a candidate for the Presidency, and my name will not go before the Republican National Convention for the nomination. I make this statement in due season. To those who have tendered me their support, I owe sincere thanks, and am most grateful for their confidence. They will, I am sure, make earnest efforts in the approaching contest, which is rendered especially important by reason of the industrial and financial policies of the government being at stake. The popular decision on these measures is of great moment and will be of far-reaching consequence.

Very sincerely yours, JAMES G. BLAIRE.

This letter was regarded as magnanimous by every one, without regard to politics, for it was written in face of the fact that a sentiment was crystalizing about the writer's name which might have made him an easy victor at Minneapolis. It was further regarded by friend and for an exceedingly timely, for the reason that it would prove a har to all further improper use of his name and would

leave party sentiment free to flow in available channels. But most of all, it was accepted as a sincere and truthful letter, expressive in good English of precisely what was meant, and as coming from a source where duplicity of ideas, insincerity of motive and misleading expression were impossible.

It so greatly clarified the situation as that Republicans everywhere fell voluntarily to the thought that Harrison was the logical and inevitable candidate of the party. In every State Convention, save one small Western State, his administration met with unequivocal approval by resolution. In many instances delegates were instructed directly to vote for him. In others, they were, according to custom, left uninstructed, but the understanding was accepted that they should be for Harrison. It was of this last situation that his opponents took advantage.

The time had come when, if opposition was to amount to anything, it must be made to cohere. Conjuration seemed out of the question, except with the magnetic name of Blaine. That name was used, despite his unequivocal letter. Men gathered to his standard, as though they believed the politicians who were using that name were sincere in the use of it. Many were so infatuated by their admiration for the name as that they refused to see that their use of it was to fasten a lie and a wrong on their favorite.

Thus matters shaped till the eve of the National Convention. The Harrison opponents made free use of Mr. Blaine's name, but its potency for their purposes was handicapped only by the two facts that he had written his letter of February 6th, and that he still remained in the Cabinet.

On June 4, 1892, an event transpired which was interpreted by the country to mean that Mr. Blaine was no

longer averse to the use of his name as a candidate. On that date, he wrote the following letter of resignation to President Harrison:—

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, June 4, 1892. To the President:—

I respectfully beg leave to submit my resignation of the office of Secretary of State of the United States, to which I was appointed by you on March 5, 1889.

The condition of pubic affairs in the Department of State justifies me in requesting that my resignation may be accepted immediately. I have the honor to be

Your very obedient servant,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

To this Mr. Harrison sent promptly the following reply:-

EXECUTIVE MANSION, Washington, June 4, 1892. To the Secretary of State:--

Your letter of this date tendering your resignation of the office of Secretary of State of the United States has been received. The terms on which you state your desires are such as to leave me no choice but to accede to your wishes at once.

Your resignation is therefore accepted.

Very respectfully yours,
BENJAMIN HARRISON.

Hon. James G. Blaine.

This dramatic event was quickly turned to their account by the Harrison opponents, many of whom were already in Minneapolis, or on their way there. They did not hesitate to construe it as a break between Harrison and Blaine, and as notice that they were at perfect liberty to place the name of the latter before the Convention and to count on his antagonism to the President.

This was the condition of affairs when the Republican National Convention opened at Minneapolis on June 7, 1892. It became apparent on the first day's session that the Harrison opponents would use all the arts and machinery within their control to carry their object. Assuming the aggressive, and having a majority on the National Committee, they organized the Committee on Credentials, and other Committees in their favor, and selected one of their own number as Temporary Chairman of the Convention.

There were in the Convention 906 votes, requiring 454 to nominate, if all were cast. On the second day of the Convention, the friends of President Harrison found they could cohere and hold their forces, even if they could not exactly number them. In this they had the advantage of a single name and object, namely, Harrison and his nomination.

On the other hand, the leaders of the opposition were not succeeding as they had expected. They must prevent the nomination of Harrison on the first ballot. In order to do this they dare not let go the name of Blaine. Yet that name was not proving as magical as they had anticipated. This gave rise to the suggestion of a dark horse, which was in itself a confession of weakness, though it was thought to be in accord with the original designs of those who had been using Blaine's name from the very first. Moreover, the transit from Blaine to a dark horse would be fraught with great danger, for there were many sincere friends of Mr. Blaine in the Convention, who would not have deserted him for a third man, but

who would have preferred to transfer their strength to Harrison.

On the the third day of the Convention, the situation was greatly simplified by a gathering of the delegates who favored Harrison. They numbered more than half the Convention. They therefore, resolved to take the initiative, force the fighting and overcome the tactics of the opposition, which were now tactics of delay. The report of the Committee on Credentials gave them their opportunity. They moved the adoption of a minority report instead of the majority one, in the case of the Alabama contests, and easily carried it. The Convention was theirs from this time on.

The fourth day of the Convention, June 10th, brought the nominations and balloting. It was a day of superb confidence on the part of the Harrison delegates and leaders. It was a day of extreme anxiety and unrest on the part of those who were using Mr. Blaine's name, for they had two battles on hand, one to make everything rally to their standard, in order to prevent Harrison's nomination on the first ballot, the other to make a fresh deployment of their forces, under fire, and shift them bodily to a new man. They could not do the former without formally presenting his name to the Convention, yet to do this was to bring him face to face with the contents of his own letter declining to be a candidate. Neither could they do the latter without more time for manipulation than the majority were now willing to extend.

So the roll call for nominations began. Senator Wolcott nominated Mr. Blaine in an able speech, which was ably seconded. The Convention burst into applause which was continued for many minutes, to be renewed again and again. The demonstrations did not result in a

stampede, nor even disguise the preparations for a change from Mr. Blaine to Mr. McKinley.

When Indiana was reached, the venerable Richard W. Thompson placed the name of Benjamin Harrison in nomination with a few appropriate remarks. This drew forth equally long and loud applause, which was to be repeated even more vociferously when Chauncey M. Depew, came to second the nomination.

The balloting began amid subdued excitement. From the very first it was manifest that nothing had occurred to shake the resolution of the Harrison delegates. The designed swing from Blaine to McKinley cropped out early in the balloting, but it carried little from the Harrison column until Ohio was reached. All such losses were very nearly met by a corresponding swing from Blaine to Harrison, among those who refused to enter the dark horse camp. The ballot was taken on the afternoon of June 10th, and resulted in the following figures:

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Whatever may have been Mr. Blaine's reasons for resigning the portfolio of State, and whether the use made of his name at Chicago was with his consent or not, he expressed no disappointment at the result, but extended his sympathy and help to the nominees and the party, as was his wont. Though he did not take an active part in the campaign, owing to physical inability, he freely advised, and on September 3d, 1892 submitted his views in full by letter. They were followed soon after by a brief speech,

delivered at the house of Mr. Reid, the candidate for Vice President. The letter is important as a review of the political situation and as a contribution to party history. It reads:

"BAR HARBOR, Me., Sept. 3, 1892.

"To Hon. James H. Manley, Chairman, etc., Augusta, Me.

"MY DEAR SIR:—Not being able for reasons which I have explained to you, to deliver public speeches in this present campaign, I take the liberty of submitting my views on the issues which I regard as being strongest for

the Republicans to urge before the people.

"1-The issue of the greatest consequence is the tariff on imports, and it will continue to be until a settlement is effected by a majority so large that it will be tantamount to general acquiescence. The Republicans are agressive on this subject. Two years ago they passed a general enactment known as the McKinley tariff, which for a time failed to meet with popular approval and was regarded with a certain degree of distrust by those who had always upheld the protective system. But a powerful reaction has come in consequence of the vindication of the Mc-Kinley tariff by experience. It is found to have worked admirably and within the last year has produced a greater volume of business, internal and external, export and import, than the United States ever transacted before. Notwithstanding the character and extent of the opposition to it, agriculture is remunerative, manufacturers are prosperous, and commerce is more flourishing than at any previous time, thus vindicating the McKinley tariff by an impressive and undeniable series of facts."

"Against this tariff the Democratic party has taken a position almost without parallel in the history of the country. They reject entirely the doctrine of protection, pro-

nounce it a fraud and anathematize it generally. A resolution, to this effect was adopted by the Democratic Convention, against the representations of the Committee on Resolutions by a two thirds vote, thus manifesting the intelligent participation of every man in the convention. Sometimes a resolution may be adopted in haste, or, when the convention is adjourning, it may fail to receive the attention of members; but this resolution was debated, pro and con, adopted after a contest, and was perfectly understood by the members of the convention. It is contained in these words: 'We denounce the Republican protection as a fraud upon the labor of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few. We declare it a fundamental principle of the Democratic Party that the Federal Government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties except for the purpose of revenue only. We demand that the collection of such taxes be limited to the necessities of the Government when honestly and economically administered."

"If any one will take the trouble to read the resolution by which Mr. Calhoun sought to defend his nullification scheme in 1833, he will find the tariff platform of the Democratic party in general harmony therewith, and, if he examines the subject further, he will discover that the duties in the compromise tariff which reconciled Mr. Calhoun and appeased his angry followers in South Carolina, were of a more comprehensive character than those contemplated in the Democratic resolution of 1892.

"The Democrats are in the habit of naming Jefferson as the founder of their party; and yet, on the subject of tariff, they are in radical opposition to the principles laid down by Jefferson. Toward the close of his administration the revenue from the tariff on imports produced a considerable surplus, and the question was, what should



BLAINE'S HOME AT WASHINGTON.



and Name -1 17

be done? Should the tariff be reduced, or should this surplus be maintained? Jefferson pointedly asked: 'Shall we suppress the imposts and give that advantage to foreign over domestic manufacturers?' For himself, he recommended that 'the imposts be maintained' and that the surplus created 'should be appropriated to the improvement of roads, canals, rivers and education.'

"If the Constitution did not give sufficient power to warrant these appropriations, Jefferson went so far as to recommend that it be amended. This presents the strongest condition of affairs upon which a protective tariff can be justified and Jefferson did not hesitate to recommend it. The Democrats of the present day, it is needless to say, are the direct opponents of the policy which Jefferson thus outlined and adhered to.

"2-When the principal of reciprocal trade was first proposed to be introduced into the tariff system the Democrats showed as much generous appreciation of the question and gave it their support so long as the Republicans refused to accept; but when the Republicans came to approve it the Democratic support vanished, and instead of favoring we find the Democratic National Convention passing a resolution hostile to the system. But in spite of Democratic opposition we have attained through reciprocity a new and valuable trade, and the system has demonstrated its many advantages. We are able to declare sugar, molasses, coffee and hides free of all duties under the McKinley bill, but instead we passed a law by which we asked the several nations interested what they would give to have their articles free. We found the privileges which we were able to give without cost or charge would secure a large trade in Brazil and Cuba, in the windward and leeward Islands, in British Guinea and Jamaica, San Domingo and the five Central Americas; and to a minor degree in Australia, France and Germany; all in exchange for articles which we intended to gratuitously admit. The free list of the Mc-Kinley tariff is larger in number of articles and in aggregate amount of their import value than the dutiable list. What would have been the result to the United States if every article that was put on the free list had been made a subject of inquiry to see what we could get in exchange. We omitted to do so for many years. That neglect has cost the Government advantages in trade which would have amounted to tens of millions of dollars. This is the whole of the reciprocity scheme. It is very plain and very simple. It secures a valuable trade in exchange for articles otherwise destined to be put on the free list. The Democratic party think they can discredit it, and they make an effort, apparently for the unpatriotic reason that they did not originate it.

"3—With all its calamities the war brought us one great blessing—national currency. There are many who will say it was well worth the cost of the war to bring about so auspicious a result to capital and labor. Prior to the war we had the worst currency system of any enlightened nation in the world. The State banks, with some exceptions, were thoroughly irresponsible. They existed by thousands throughout the United States. Wherever one of them failed the result was a large loss and great distress among the people. No one was responsible for their bills and they were generally found scattered in the pockets of laboring men to whom they were a total loss without any possible redemption whatever. Of the State banks it was often and truly said that their debts were the measure of the profits. They have caused an

FINAL RETIRACY FROM PUBLIC LIFE.

aggregate loss of hundreds of millions of dollars among the poor.

"Since the close of the war all this is changed. Every paper dollar that circulates among the people has the United States behind as guarantee. All the banks that exist are under the control of the National Government and if they fail as financial institutions the Government has taken care that their bills shall be paid by securities, deposited in Government vaults. Under these circumstances it is a matter for extraordinary surprise that the Democratic convention should deliberately pass resolutions for the revival of the State banks. The palpable effect of this policy if carried out, would be to cheat the poor man out of his daily bread. If State banks be adopted and the circulation attain a large issue no device could be more deadly for the deception and despoilment of all the commercial and laboring classes. How the Democratic convention came to make such a declaration. who was its author, what intelligent purpose was in it, will remain a mystery. I have heard the argument adduced that we would keep the money at home if State banks were instituted, but we should keep it at home because it was so worthless that nobody would take it abroad. Were the system of State banks revived we would again have discounts at the State lines, large charges for drafts and financial centers and general suspi-

every few years that would be issues innocent holders of bills party. I parties owning the bannocratic party.

"The three issë diverted by our oppoupon which I nee to and constant present would not murnee to

nents from

tation of these questions before the people until every voter is made to know and understand their true and weighty significance.

"Very sincerely yours,
"JAMES G. BLAINE."

On June 18, 1892, Mr. Blaine was called upon to mourn the loss of his son Emmons, who died suddenly at Chicago, where he resided. This was the third time in less than three years that death had invaded his household, each time to seize on a favorite and to give to grief its greatest weight. These repeated blows were very keenly felt by Mr. Blaine, and served to retard that restoration to health which an admiring nation so ardently hoped for.

In the autumn of 1892, Mr. Blaine and family returned to Washington to reside. There, in a milder climate and amid congenial companions he hoped to fully recuperate health, and indulge his tastes for literature. But ere he had been there for any length of time he was stricken with disease of so decided a form as to alarm his friends and medical advisers. On Dec. 18, he fell into syncope, from which he rallied with the utmost difficulty. It was then given out that disease had assumed organic form, that the kidneys were the centre of the trouble, and heart-failure might cause his death at any moment. The greatest anxiety prevailed as to his condition, and words of sympathy were wafted from every corner of the land toward his sick chamber.

CHAPTER XXI.

A NATION MOURNETH.

On Saturday evening, Jan. 7, 1893, the illness of Mr. Blaine assumed such an alarming form as to dispel all hope of recovery. His condition was that of syncope, due to heart-failure. His two physicians alternated at his bedside during the night, and they succeeded in restoring him only by means of the most powerful medicaments.

The family group, summoned hastily to the scene of sorrow, and composed of Mrs. Blaine, Miss Harriet Blaine, Mrs. Damrosch and child, and the children of Colonel Coppinger, anxiously awaited the result. At six o'clock in the morning, when the hour had arrived when he must respond to remedies or finally succumb, the minister, Rev. Dr. I. S. Hamlin, pastor of the Presbyterian Church of the Covenant, was sent for, who held family devotions.

On the morning of Jan. 8 the physicians authorized a bulletin, the first of significance since that of Dec. 17. That of Dec. 17 read:

"Mr. Blaine has been suffering for some time past with symptoms of impaired general health, but which did not clearly indicate the disease of any particular organ. Evidence of local organic disease has been manifested recently, and it is believed his present condition is due to this cause. While there is nothing in the disease to warrant the fear of any very rapid progress, he has shown within a month past more signs of serious illness than before. It is hoped that this aggravation may pass off, but no positive statement can 40

ing and prolonging it indefinitely. They acknowledge, however, that the spark may be extinguished at any moment. Mr. Blaine's very critical condition is shown by the fact that one of the physicians is almost constantly at his bedside to meet the first symptom of relapse."

This hovering between life and death, this heroic struggle for existence, so characteristic of the great civic warrior, excited profound national regret. The home of the dying man was constantly besieged by inquirers, and the wires flashed incessantly the latest reports as to his condition. It seemed as though hope reigned universal that the magnetic statesman might yet be spared, and that nothing was paramount to the desire for information respecting his condition. If Blaine were passing away, he was the object of a solicitude which none but the most illustrious and most beloved could excite.

This condition of alternate sinking and rallying continued for several days. Eager millions scanned the daily bulletins to revive their hopes or add to their despair respecting the stricken man. As he had a thousand times surprised opponents and friendly audiences by his splendid abilities, so now he surprised his physicians, and his myriad of friends, by his magnificent rallying powers. Death could have no easy victory over one whose vital resource seemed unquenchable. The better day asserted itself after the worse, and the struggle went on, as if equal giants were contending for the grandest of earthly prizes.

But as days went by the struggle became more and more unequal. Disease laid closer, deeper hold on vital parts. Strength failed each hour. Gradually unconsciousness came, and the great man lay helpless for days, while disease completed its grim triumph. At length on the morning of January 27, 1893, at 11 o'clock, the announcement went forth to the nation and the world that

"JAMES G. BLAINE WAS DEAD."

Not since the taking away of Garfield or Lincoln had the nation felt a sorer bereavement. Of all the deaths of illustrious men, in a whole decade of years, not one touched so deeply and universally the hearts of the people. In the wide-spread sorrow, in the sincerity of the grief, it was manifest how close and inspiring had been his touch with the American masses, how much he had been of them, how he had known them by name and locality, how his great heart had ever responded sympathetically to every appeal of friend and foe. All the bitterness and antagonisms which such an active and aggressive life as his may have stirred were hushed. Party lines were effaced while a whole people mourned the departure of one who ranked in life with the greatest and grandest of earth.

Mr. Blaine's death was almost concurrent with that of Ex-President Hayes, General Butler, Bishop Brooks, Judge Lamar, General Doubleday and Ex-Postmaster General' Campbell. But unlike theirs his death had been one of patient struggle, of long watching hours. As nature sets her times, he was a young man, being at his age of sixty-three years, more than two score years the junior of Gladstone, whose voice still rang with no uncertain sound in the English parliament. Yet with this relative youth, he passed away almost the last illustrious group of statesmen who followed the dark days of rebellion with their patriotic and intellectual achievements.

The hour of Mr. Blaine's dissolution had been made evident early on the morning of Jan. 27. He had passed a

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restless night, and had been pronounced "not so well" by his physician. At 9 A. M. the nurse noted symptoms of heart failure. The physicians were hastily summoned, but their powerful remedies proved useless now. The closing scenes were on, and the dying man lay quiet and unconscious, surrounded by his sorrowing family. So softly did the vital force steal away, that no one knew exactly when it went.

As Mr. Blaine's health had evidently been impaired for a long time, and as the precise nature of his malady had been clouded in mystery, the physicians in charge authorized the publication of the following report respecting his case.

"The beginning of Mr. Blaine's illness dates back some years. The earliest signs of ill health were associated with, and no doubt due to a gouty tendency which manifested itself in sub-acute attacks of gout, disturbances of disgestion and progressive innutrition and anæmia.

"Subsequent events prove that at this time changes were going on in the arteries of the body, which resulted later in symptoms of obliteration of vessels and in chronic disease of the kidneys. The attack of paralysis in 1887 was connected with similar alterations in the blood vessels of the brain.

"During the Summer of 1892 the evidences of failing health were more decided, and in November, on his return to Washington, his symptoms suddenly assumed an aggravated form. From this time, although there were periods of apparent improvement, he continued to grow worse from week to week. The symptoms were at first more directly connected with the kidneys, and examinations of urine showed that there was a progressive interstitial change going on in that organ, and that he had a form of chronic Bright's disease.



"Toward the end of December signs of unusual weakness from and dilation, and on December 18 tack of heart exhaustion. From t of the same nature recurred on se

"From the middle of January the action of the heart was more was, however, a daily loss of flesh

"For three days before Mr. I no marked change in his conditi somewhat more feeble than on the night before his death he did mediate danger. Toward the m his pulse was observed to be vering more embarrassed. As a reaction, oedema of the lungs occur much suffering at 11 o'clock.

"During the whole of Mr. B tion was well performed, and li was taken in full quantities. clear except when clouded by ura circulation, and although unabl news of Mr. Blaine's death had made a very profound impression upon him. While recognizing the fact from the statement of physicians and members of the family that ultimate recovery in Mr. Blaine's case was improbable, he was still wholly unprepared for it at this time, and the announcement had been a great shock to him. He felt unable under the circumstances to enter upon the consideration of any public business with the members of his Cabinet, most of whom had been associated with Mr. Blaine in the official family relations, and therefore, after expression of regret and sorrow at the loss sustained by themselves and the country in Mr. Blaine's death, the meeting of the Cabinet was adjourned out of respect to Mr. Blaine's memory.

The President then issued the following proclamation:-

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, Jan. 27, 1893.

"It is my painful duty to announce to the people of the United States the death of James Gillespie Blaine, which occurred in this city to-day at 11 o'clock. For a full generation this eminent citizen has occupied a conspicuous and influential position in the nation. His first public service was in the Legislature of his State. Afterward, for fourteen years, he was a member of the National House of Representatives, and was three times chosen its Speaker. In 1873 he was elected to the Senate. He resigned his seat in that body in 1881 to accept the position of Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Garfield. After the tragic death of his chief, he resigned from the Cabinet, and, devoting himself to literary work, gave to the public, in his 'Twenty Years in Congress,' a most valuable and enduring contribution to our political literature. In March, 1889, he again became Secretary of State, and continued to exercise this office until June, 1892.

"His devotion to the public interests, his marked ability and his exalted patriotism have won for him the gratitude and affection of his countrymen and the admiration of the world. In the varied pursuits of legislation, diplomacy and literature, his genius added new lusture to American citizenship.

"As a suitable expression of the national appreciation of his great public services and of the general sorrow caused by his death, I direct that on the day of his funeral all the departments of the executive branch of the Government at Washington be closed and that on all public buildings throughout the United States the national flags shall be displayed at half-staff, and that for a period of thirty days the Department of State be draped in mourning.

Benjamin Harrison.

"By the President.

"JOHN W. FOSTER, Secretary of State."

The Unites States Senate met amid the gloom which the announcement of Mr. Blaine's death had spread through the Capitol. As soon as the minutes were read, Mr. Hale, of Maine, arose and said:—

"Mr. President:—We are again summoned into the presence of death. A very great man has passed from this earth. Hon. James G. Blaine died in his house in this city at 11 o'clock this morning. His illness had in some measure prepared us for that; but the dread event will carry sadness and mourning throughout all the United States and will awaken sorrow wherever civilized man lives on the face of the globe. Mr. Blaine's career was so remarkable and his public services were so great that in all the histories which may be written of his times, he will stand as the central figure, not only as to his own country, but on policies and subjects that affected other great na-

tions. He belonged, Mr. President, not to any one State, but to all the country; and Pennsylvania, which gave him birth-place and nurtured him; and Maine, where he made his home and where he became her first citizen, and which filled his lap with all the honors which she could bestow, mourn him no more to day than do the dwellers by the shores of the great Gulf and in the cabins of the far Sierras. This is no time or place for me to speak in detail of his distinguished public life.

"He was for years a distinguished member of the floor of the House of Representatives of the nation and for six years presided there as its Speaker. His services in this chamber covered years. His was twice Secretary of State and was until of late a member of the present Administration. I do not think that there is one Senator here who will not deem it fitting in view of these facts and of the fact that he died where his last peaceful look from his chamber window might embrace this Capitol, where his voice had been so many times heard, that we make a precedent at this time and that, although Mr. Blaine was at the time of his death a private citizen, this body take immediate adjournment."

In the House of Representatives, a similar gloom pervaded the chamber, and adjournment was had after the following honorary proceedings:—

Mr. Milliken, Me., rose and said :-

"Mr. Speaker: It becomes my sad duty to announce to this House the death of James G. Blaine. Mr. Blaine was for fourteen years a prominent and leading member of this House. For six years he was the distinguished Speaker of the House. Every position he has held he has gilded with the light of genius, and he has given to the public service for a generation such devotion and such industry and such labor as has brought him to his death today. I doubt not that every member of this House will be glad to pay him a tribute of respect by an adjournment."

Meanwhile messages of condolence were pouring in upon the afflicted family from all sections of the country and all parts of the world. They came from the President, from cabinet officers, from Governors of States, from officials of the Diplomatic service, from men of distinction in all branches of business, and without regard to party affiliations. The monetary exchanges, the business boards, the social clubs, the political organizations, the religious, charitable and literary societies, formulated their grief in touching resolutions, and forwarded them as evidences of their profound sympathy. The Legislatures of many of the States were in session. These all adjourned for the day as a token of their respect. Flags everywhere fell to half mast. The badge of mourning was universal.

On every side men in public life, old acquaintances in business and politics, political friends and foes, rose up with their eulogies, their reminiscences, their kindly memory of traits, encounters and anecdotes, each to soothe a pang of grief, to show evidence of esteem, to pay early tribute to character, to fix more indelibly in the popular mind those qualities of heart and brain that had made the dead so distinguished in life.

Of these tributes, none were warmer, nor better fitted for a place in his biography, than those from his associates in the Cabinet.

Secretary of State Foster said: "In diplomacy his chief characteristic was his exalted Americanism. He was a thorough believer in the Monroe Doctrine, and the reciprocity policy which distinguished the close of his public career was an outgrowth of his convictions respecting that doctrine. His diplomatic correspondence will

rank among the best of his political productions. His reputation abroad will mainly rest upon his acts as Secretary of State, and it is not an exaggeration to say that in the past ten years at least, he has been the best-known American in foreign lands."

Secretary of the Treasury Foster said: "I first met Mr. Blaine when he became a member of the Forty-second Congress, and during his six year's service as Speaker of the House of Representatives. At that time he was in full health and a magnificent specimen, both physically and mentally, of mature manhood. As Speaker, he was the absolute dictator of the proceedings of the House, enjoving more fully the respect and confidence of the members than any other Speaker, with perhaps the exception of Henry Clay, whose career Mr. Blaine's so much resembled. His career has been one of leadership, and without doubt he possessed the confidence, respect, and affection of the vast majority of the American people more than any man of his time. His fame is world-wide. His personal popularity and his hold upon the popular affection were not confined to his own party. His death will be sincerely mourned."

Attorney General Miller said :-

"He was a born leader of men and richly endowed by nature with all those qualities that make a great statesman. In the United States a thorough legal training is almost indispensable to a great and diversified public career. That without such training Mr. Blaine could achieve success in the various positions he had been called upon to fill is an additional evidence of his extraordinary natural powers."

Said Secretary Noble :-

"James G. Blaine died within three days of the sixty-third anniversary of his birth and little less than thirty

years from the time he entered Congress, on the first Monday of December, 1863. During this long and most eventful period he held the attention and commanded the respect of his countrymen to a most extraordinary degree—more, I think, than any other political leader save Lincoln or Clay. Like Clay his followers were loving and enthusiastic, and alike they achieved great success but failed to reach the summit of their ambition—the Presidency. Blaine was highly intellectual and refined. He had great mental discipline and vigor, with physical strength and the courage of his convictions. His learning and experience gave him immense resources of precedent and illustration, and no man was ever more ready to see his opportunity or take advantage of his opponent in debate.

"The facility and variety of his attack and defense were unsurpassed. He was distinguished as a Congressman, as a Senator, Cabinet Minister, and political leader, displaying great wisdom in counsel, and formulated the principles and issues of his party with unerring accuracy. Blaine was an American thoroughly and invariably—he loved our country and institutions. His death will be greatly lamented and the whole nation will do his memory honor. His critics will not be in this country."

Secretary Elkins said :-

"Mr. Blaine was a wonderful man and wonderfully gifted. He was one of the greatest statesmen and political leaders the country has produced, and the most conspicuous leader of his time. He was the idol of his party, the most loved man in it. He had, more than any other political leader in the country, the most enthusiastic following and best and most loyal friends. He inspired his party more thoroughly than any other man in it. For nearly twenty years he did more than any other leader to shape its policy. His control over men, his power to draw

them to him and command their unselfish support was beyoud that of any other party leader in the history of the country.

"His loss will be widely felt and mourned, but his life will be a continuing inspiration to his party. Mr. Blaine, though thoroughly educated, full of culture and accomplishments never paraded his learning. He was versatile, full of resources and more widely informed than any man or statesman of his time. In a certain sense, he was modest, seldom speaking of himself, his position or commanding influence in his party and in the country. He was broad, liberal and just, always generous to an opponent; tender, gentle and affectionate toward his friends. Without distinction of party his death will be mourned as a great loss to the country. Truly a great man has passed away, and a great light gone out."

Postmaster General Wanamaker said :-

"Pennsylvania may well be proud of her brilliant son, clever as Henry Clay and eloquent as Daniel Webster. As an all-around statesman his name will always be cherished with the ten greatest Americans."

Secretary Rusk said :-

"I have no hesitation in saying that in many respects Mr. Blaine outranked any of his contemporaries, and none has wielded a greater influence in shaping the fortunes of the Republican party. One of the qualities I have always esteemed the most highly in James G. Blaine was his sturdy, unswerving Americanism. He will always be one of the conspicuous figures in the political history of this country. While serving with him in President Harrison's Cabinet our relations were of the most cordial and friendly character. For some time I noted with deep regret that physically he was not as vigorous as in former years. His death, while not unexpected, will be a great

shock to the people of the whole nation, irrespective of their political sentiments."

The pulpit broke forth in eloquence over the event of Blaine's death, and its strains were highly eulogistic of his grand character as well as deeply touching respecting the nation's loss. So, the newspapers of the land, with their keen insight into character, their likes and dislikes, found in the death of James G. Blaine a pervading calamity, a cause for universal regret, an opportunity for analysis and eulogium, that bespoke for the departed a distinction which every one, without regard to party, was now proud to acknowledge. The following sample of their comments will set the style of the whole.

"The Republic has lost its most distinguished citizen. Through all the range of its public life his influence has been felt, his work has been seen, his triumphs won, and his supreme ability accepted. Party leader, orator, historian, legislator, statesman, great in all these, he was greatest of all in a national career which rested solely upon the unshaken loyalty and devotion of the great mass of voters in the Republican party.

And so now and on the morrow of his death, the plaudits of history and the praise of posterity seem but a light and empty thing by the bier of the man who goes to his grave loved as no man of his day has been loved by the million. It is much to have been the leading American, to have stood on the world's stage and played a great part in the affairs of men,—it is more, a thousand times more, that in lonely farm houses, in solitary villages, in great cities, in all places where Americans live and work, the news of his death will bring a strange sorrow to men that never saw him, that their life as citizens and their action as Republicans will seem the emptier because "Blaine is dead."

Mr. Blaine's family were tendered, by the President and the authorities, those formal observances in honor of the distinguished dead, which give national character to funeral solemnities. But these the family declined in accordance with Mr. Blaine's express wish before he died that his funeral should be private, and unaccompanied by display.

Yet so great was the respect for the deceased, and such the heartfelt desire to accord more than usual honors, that the very large gathering of mourners and attendants at the funeral, on Monday, Jan. 30, representing the departments and various branches of the public service, as well state and civic bodies in different parts of the Union, contributed spontaneously to an impressive funeral demonstration. All public business was suspended in the National

Capital while the ceremonies were in progress.

The funeral services began, at 11 A. M., in the home of the deceased, which stood within sight of the State Department, the scene of his late official labors. They consisted of a simple rendering of the Presbyterian form of reading and prayer by Rev. Dr. Hamlin. The casket was then closed, and the mourners and attendants formed in solemn processional, moving to the Presbyterian church of the Covenant, where further ceremonies were held. pall-bearers were: Senator Hale, of Maine; Senator Frye, of Maine; Senator Morgan, of Alabama; ex-Speaker Reed, of Maine; Representative Boutelle, of Maine; Representave Hitt, of Illinois; (formerly Mr. Blaine's Assistant Secretary of State); Representative Bingham, of Pennsylvania, in which State Mr. Blaine was born; General Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, second cousin of Mr. Blaine; John Hay, ex-Assistant Secretary of State: Joseph H. Manley, of Augusta; Almet F. Jenks and P. V. T. Ely.

Mrs. Blaine was so sorely grief-stricken as to be unable

to join in the church ceremonies. The church was profusely decorated with flowers and plants. Seats were reserved for the family, pall-bearers, President and cabinet, members of Congress and of Supreme Court, Department officials, and members of the Diplomatic corps.

At 12 M. the processional entered the church, headed by the minister, reading as he advanced, and moving amid solemn strains from the organ, at which Mr. Blaine's sonin-law, Mr. Damrosch, presided. The casket was placed in front of the chancel area, amid the shadow of plants and the mountains of flowers. The minister completed his reading, offered eloquent and touching prayer, invoked a benediction, and left the honored dead again to the keeping of the pall-bearers.

The procession now moved from the church to the Georgetown Cemetery, where Mr. Blaine's son Walker, and daughter, Mrs. Coppinger, already rested, in a spot selected by Mr. Blaine himself. At the grave, the simple burial service was rendered, and the mortal parts of the distinguished dead were consigned to their last, long rest.

Thus was laid away with simple but befitting ceremony the grandest statesman and most impressive personage of his country and time. He, above all other men, had touched the popular imagination with a sense of the duty and responsibility of the Nation as to its destiny on this continent and as to the peace and prosperity of this hemisphere. What coincidence so striking as that while the clods were falling on his coffin men were already turning to the consideration of new duties in the Pacific Ocean for which his policy had in great part prepared them.

Mr. Blaine left a large estate as evidence of his thrift and strictly business capacity, and nominated his wife as beneficiary and executor of the same.